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Edm Burke

From the Romney portrait

BURKE'S SPEECH
ON
AMERICAN TAXATION

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY
JAMES HUGH MOFFATT,
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, CENTRAL
HIGH SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA



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PREFACE

William Hazlitt said : "There is no single speech of Mr. Burke which can convey a satisfactory idea of his powers of mind : to do him justice, it would be necessary to quote all his works ; the only specimen of Burke is, *all that he wrote.*" If a specimen must be selected, it is wise to select his two speeches on American affairs, both of which should be read by every student of literature and of history. This edition of *American Taxation* has been prepared to meet the actual demands of the class room. Too often the student is content with reading *Conciliation with America*. Experience in class rooms for four years with six hundred students has shown that, notwithstanding the excellence of *Conciliation with America*, it gives students a one-sided impression of Burke as an orator and a debater, which can be corrected by a study of *American Taxation*. His speeches were not always so calm, dignified, and temperate as *Conciliation with America*. The energy and wit of *American Taxation* are more typical of him. Like most of his speeches it was not prepared in advance, but spoken extemporaneously ; what it loses in coördination of construction it gains in intensity of argument. It came white hot from the furnace of his convictions. It reveals his skill in detecting the weaknesses of his opponents, which long experience in the minority had taught him. It illustrates the historical method of debate which Burke applied to every question, and which appears to a less noticeable degree in *Conciliation with America*. In the latter Burke argued as if he were hoping against hope ; but *American Taxation* was delivered almost a

year earlier, before he had lost hope in England's treating her colonies justly. It is full of the spirit and the conviction of a man who is hastening to warn his country of impending danger.

In the Introduction to this edition Burke's speeches and writings are not discussed in chronological order, but collected into groups according to their subjects. This method enables the student to realize exactly what Burke accomplished for the causes which he championed. An effort is also made not merely to tell the names of his speeches, but to sum up in a sentence their main arguments. The Notes are rather full, giving all the information a student needs for a complete understanding of the speech. Theoretically it is better for a student to hunt up the information, but in practice nine-tenths of the students have neither time nor opportunity for this work. The text is that of Dodsley's second edition, 1775, except that the spelling has been made to conform to that of the other books of this series.

The editor wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the help he has received from E. J. Payne's edition of Burke's *Select Works*, F. G. Selby's edition of Burke's *American Speeches*, and from Professor C. A. Goodrich's *British Eloquence*; their notes are frequently quoted. He also gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Cheesman A. Herrick and Professor Albert H. Smyth for practical advice, and to Dr. John L. Haney and David Wallerstein, Esq., for valuable criticisms of the Introduction and Notes. He hopes that this little book will help some students to appreciate the work and to honor the memory of Edmund Burke, the "Interpreter of English Liberty."

J. H. M.

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA

January 23, 1905

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INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE OF EDMUND BURKE

Edmund Burke was born in Dublin on January 12, 1729. His father was a lawyer with a large practice, so that he could afford to send Edmund to the good boarding school of Abraham Shackleton, a Quaker. There he formed a lasting friendship with the schoolmaster's son Richard, who was his chief correspondent for many years. In 1743 he was enrolled as a student in Trinity College, Dublin, from which he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1748. In addition to the work for the degree, he read a great deal in natural philosophy, logic, history, and poetry. He was in the habit of spending three hours each day in a public library reading miscellaneous books. Later in life, in a letter to his son, who was studying in France, Burke said: "Reading and much reading is good. But the power of diversifying the matter infinitely in your own mind, and of applying it to every occasion that arises, is far better."¹

Early in his college course Burke had purposed to follow his father's wish that he should become a lawyer, and the two years after graduation were probably spent studying in his father's office. But in 1750 he went to London to complete his legal education at the Middle Temple.

Burke soon became convinced that the study of law was too narrowing and uninteresting for his life work, although in later years he said that law was "one of the first and noblest of

¹ Burke's *Correspondence*, London, 1844, I, 426.

human sciences ; a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together ; but it is not apt, except in persons very happily born, to open and to liberalize the mind exactly in the same proportion."¹ He neglected law for politics, for the theater, and for literature. The consequence was that, early in 1755, his disappointed father stopped his allowance of £100 a year, and Burke was forced to turn to literature, not for pleasure as formerly, but for a livelihood.

Although Burke had probably been writing for newspapers and magazines before 1756, his first little book or pamphlet, called *A Vindication of Natural Society*, appeared anonymously in that year and was not acknowledged by him for a few months. Two years before, the works of Lord Bolingbroke, in which he had attempted to defend natural religion, had been posthumously published. Burke was fascinated by the clearness of the style, but saw the unsoundness of the reasoning. Bolingbroke had argued for natural against revealed religion, declaring that every man should work out his own individual system of religion. Burke pretended to agree with Bolingbroke, but in reality he showed the weakness of the method of reasoning, by proving that if it could be applied to religion, it could be applied also to society and every other institution of civilized men. So cleverly did Burke imitate Bolingbroke's style and argument that his work was received even by Bolingbroke's friends as an additional posthumous publication of Bolingbroke. This was a remarkable achievement, for Bolingbroke was considered a master of English prose.

A few months later Burke published *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, which he had been preparing for seven years. This speculative work was one of the first essays in æsthetics in the English language,

¹ See page 32.

and is overlooked to-day only because of the great progress which has recently been made in this branch of knowledge. It was highly valued by his contemporaries and passed through several editions, but its most important influence was in Germany, where the German scholar, Lessing, started to translate it, but finally decided to compose a work of his own on the same subject. This work was *Laokoön*, the famous treatise on the principles of art.

Too much study and writing undermined Burke's health, and he was forced to go to Bath to recuperate. He became worse, and to aid his recovery, his physician, Dr. Christopher Nugent, took him into his own home. Here Burke gained not only health but happiness, for in 1757 he married Jane Nugent, the doctor's daughter. On his return to London his attention was confined to preparing for publication *An Abridgment of English History* down to the reign of King John. The most valuable part of this was the discussion of the Druids.

England was chiefly interested at this time in the French and Indian War and the coincident Seven Years' War. To satisfy the growing curiosity of Englishmen concerning the American colonies, Burke published *An Account of the European Settlements in America*. In 1759 the leading London publisher, Dodsley, began to issue the *Annual Register*, edited by Burke. It contained a complete history of the continental war, a chronicle of English politics, brief biographies of leading statesmen, accounts of extraordinary occurrences, miscellaneous essays, a few poems, and reviews of the leading books of the year. For many years Burke continued to edit the *Annual Register*, receiving for it £100 a year.

These works led to his introduction to Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, (Sir) Joshua Reynolds, David Garrick, and others, who in 1764 formed the famous Literary Club. Burke was one of the few men whom Dr. Johnson respected as equals.

Boswell records that Dr. Johnson said: "Burke is the only man whose common conversation corresponds with the general fame which he has in the world. Take up whatever topic you please, he is ready to meet you."¹

In 1759 Burke became connected as a sort of private secretary with William Gerard Hamilton, known as "Single-Speech" Hamilton, because his first speech in Parliament was so excellent that he never ventured to make another. In 1763, after Burke had spent several years with him in Ireland, where Hamilton was secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Hamilton secured for him a pension of £300 and seemed to think that this gave him the control of all Burke's time and services. But Burke refused to give up his entire time and liberty, and resigned the pension.

Such was Burke's training for the public life he was about to enter. In the summer of 1765 George III became dissatisfied with the temporizing policy of the leading minister, George Grenville, and dismissed him, as he had formerly dismissed Pitt for his independence. The King was forced to ask the leading Whig, the Marquis of Rockingham, to form a ministry. Burke became Rockingham's private secretary through the influence of his cousin, William Burke, despite the protests of certain politicians who declared that he was merely an Irish adventurer and an agent of the pope. Burke's mother and his wife were Roman Catholics, but Burke himself had been educated in the Protestant faith of his father.

In January, 1766, he entered the House of Commons as member for Wendover, and soon afterwards voted for the repeal of the Stamp Act, and for the Declaratory Act. But in one year and twenty days the Rockingham ministry was dismissed

¹ Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, edited by G. Birkbeck Hill, Oxford, 1887, IV, 19.

and Pitt was recalled. After a short vacation in Ireland, Burke purchased an estate of six hundred acres near Beaconsfield, twenty-four miles from London. He paid £20,000 for it, and as his only income was his salary and small sums for literary work, he borrowed some money probably from Lord Rockingham and (Sir) Joshua Reynolds. To this home he retired for recreation from the turmoil of London life, finding much pleasure in cultivating his farm.

In 1774 Burke was elected a member of Parliament for the important commercial city of Bristol; he continued to represent Bristol until 1780, when he withdrew from the hopeless contest for reëlection. He had become unpopular because he had refused to obey the demands of his constituents concerning legislation for Ireland. He plainly told them, as he had in 1774, that it was the duty of each member of Parliament to consider not only the interest of the locality he represented, but always the interest of the entire empire.¹ Burke did not, however, retire from Parliament, as he was elected for Malton.

From 1770 to 1780 Burke's chief interest was to oppose the policy of the government in the treatment of the American colonies and in the expulsion of John Wilkes from the House of Commons for libel. The rest of his life Burke devoted to prosecuting Warren Hastings, to opposing the influence of the French Revolution, and to aiding the Irish Catholics. He found time to write letters on practical farming to his friend Arthur Young, and from the many demands on his purse he aided some unfortunate acquaintances. He sent James Barry, a young Irishman, to the continent to study painting, and for many years watched over the artist's fortunes, writing letters of advice and art criticism, that showed the same spirit and taste as the *Inquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful*. Another

¹ See *Speech at the Conclusion of the Poll*, Burke's *Works*, Boston, 1899, II, 81.

man whom he befriended was the poet George Crabbe. Burke received him into his home and obtained a publisher for his poems. Later through his political influence Burke secured for him an appointment as chaplain.

Unfortunately Burke lost many friends as he grew older; like his father he became irritable in his old age, as is shown in many of his brief angry speeches in Parliament. Most of the friends of his youth had passed away, and his political companions gradually withdrew from his support, because they were not so unselfishly and zealously interested in the measures which he advocated.

In 1794 the King expressed his willingness to raise Burke to the peerage, but before the proposal was carried out, Burke's only son Richard died. In his grief Burke was indifferent to the honor which meant little to him, but which he had hoped his son would enjoy. Instead of the peerage, two pensions of £1200 and £2500 were given to him by the King directly without the formality of a parliamentary grant. This circumstance was harshly criticised in the House of Lords by the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Lauderdale. Deeply wounded, Burke wrote *A Letter to a Noble Lord*, a defense of his pensions and a review of his life.

In the summer of 1797 Burke died, and according to his own wish, was buried in the little church at Beaconsfield.

All of Burke's public life was devoted to the one purpose of preserving and aiding his country and its constitution. No other statesman ever sacrificed his own interests as an individual more unselfishly and completely to the interests of the state. During his life he never received his reward, but to-day, when the words of his contemporaries are forgotten, a knowledge of his writings is necessary for a complete understanding of politics. Everything that he wrote was with a loyal

purpose for the public good, not for personal advancement. His life was a life of action, of constant endeavor to perform the high duties of a citizen, in which he was not aided by wealth or rank. He had to fight his way: "*Nitor in adversum* is the motto for a man like me. I possessed not one of the qualities, nor cultivated one of the arts, that recommend men to the favor and protection of the great. I was not made for a minion or a tool. As little did I follow the trade of winning the hearts by imposing on the understandings of the people. At every step of my progress in life (for in every step was I traversed and opposed), and at every turnpike I met, I was obliged to show my passport, and again and again to prove my sole title to the honor of being useful to my country, by a proof that I was not wholly unacquainted with its laws, and the whole system of its interests both abroad and at home."¹

The best and most comprehensive view of his public career can be got by separating it into several divisions according to the main objects of his interest,—his work for Ireland, for America, for his party and country, for India, and against the French Revolution. No one of these objects was considered alone on any occasion; however closely he might focus his attention on a particular question, he never forgot its relations to the whole question of government; he always worked for Great Britain.

FOR IRELAND

All through his public life Burke tried to help the country of his birth and education. Ireland surely needed the help of a statesman. Of the three million inhabitants, two million were Roman Catholics, who were almost slaves of the

¹ Burke's *Letter to a Noble Lord*, edited by A. H. Smyth, Standard English Classics, p. 21.

Protestants. By the penal laws of 1691, a Roman Catholic was debarred from education, from the franchise of citizenship, from the ownership of land, and the guardianship of his children. The trade of Ireland was much restricted, more so even than that of the American colonies. English statesmen looked on Ireland only as "an object that they did not know how to give up."¹

Most of the ambitious Irishmen went to England, where they soon forgot their mother country. The historian Froude says: "If Edmund Burke had remained in the country where Providence had placed him, he might have changed the current of its history."² Necessity, rather than ambition, led Burke from Ireland, for the Irish law required that a barrister should study in the London courts before practising at home. His subsequent quarrel with his father determined his stay; but he never forgot Ireland — "this important melancholy subject." He was always in correspondence with friends there, among whom were the leaders of both the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. He visited the country at least five times, and, with one exception, on Irish business always.

About the year 1765 Burke prepared a *Tract on the Penal or Popery Laws*, which showed how thoroughly the political philosopher understood the nature, causes, and consequences of these laws. In 1778 it was proposed to lessen the restrictions upon Irish Catholics by permitting them to own land and to maintain schools. By frequent interviews with English statesmen and by letters to Irish legislators, Burke assisted in the passage of the bill. This led to the formation of the Protestant Association and the Lord George Gordon riots of 1780, in which the supporters of the Catholics were attacked by a mob in London and many houses burned.

¹ Burke's *Correspondence*, London, 1844, III, 419.

² Froude's *History of Ireland*, New York, 1874, II, 213.

In 1782 Burke again pleaded against the reënactment of the penal laws, for he hoped that by neglect they would become inactive. His influence with the Irish Parliament made it abandon the proposal to tax the proprietors of landed estates in Ireland, whose ordinary residence was in England. The chief objection was that such a law would tend to separate, not to unite the two countries. Ten years later the Irish Catholics asked Burke's son to become their attorney, and the majority of Burke's letters from this time until the death of his son concern religious toleration in Ireland. The very last letter that he dictated was on the subject of permitting the Catholics to vote; but this just concession was not granted until two years after his death.

In Burke's opinion the most important Irish question concerned the commercial restrictions. "Alas! it is not about popes, but about potatoes, that the minds of this unhappy people are agitated."¹ Burke saw that the same blind commercial policy that had lost the American colonies was destroying Ireland. In 1778 he earnestly supported the demands of the Irish for some relief from the taxation on their commerce. This was reluctantly granted, for the English merchants, especially those of Bristol, protested vigorously, fearing Irish competition. Yet seven years later Burke opposed the greater concessions offered by the new Prime Minister, Pitt, who proposed that Ireland should receive complete free trade, and in return should devote a certain portion of her internal revenue to the support of the navy of Great Britain. Burke's inconsistent action was denounced by his Irish friends. He was influenced too much by party prejudice against Pitt; or he was too much absorbed in the affairs of India, to give these measures proper consideration.

Matthew Arnold has said: "Burke is the greatest of our political thinkers and writers. But his political thinking and

¹ Burke's *Works*, VI, 399.

writing has more value on some subjects than on others ; the value is at its height when the subject is Ireland."¹ As a whole, Burke's writings about Irish questions have little value as literature, because they are chiefly formal state papers and personal letters to Irish friends on questions of detail. Few of his speeches on Irish affairs have been preserved, because the English public was little interested in the subject. Yet the wrongs of Ireland were constantly in Burke's thoughts ; he seldom spoke on any subject in Parliament without in some way referring to his native country.

FOR AMERICA

When Burke entered Parliament in January, 1766, the attention of all the members was centered on the reorganization of the financial condition of the country, which the previous minister, Grenville, had left in great disorder. Grenville had attempted to increase the resources of the state by imposing a tax on all legal papers in the American colonies. The Americans strongly opposed this Stamp Act, declaring that it was unjust to tax Englishmen without representation, whether they were in England or in America. The men who had been appointed commissioners for the sale of the new stamps, were forced to resign. The most effective opposition was the agreement among the American merchants that they would not import any merchandise from England while the Stamp Act was in force.

The first work of the Rockingham ministry was to repeal the Stamp Act, but unfortunately they also passed the Declaratory Act, which asserted that, although in certain cases, such as this,

¹ *Edmund Burke on Irish Affairs*, edited by Matthew Arnold, London, 1881, p. vi.

it was not expedient to tax the colonists, England had the right to impose such taxes. The colonists were so well pleased with the repeal of the Stamp Act that probably they would never have energetically opposed the Declaratory Act, if that had been all. But the Rockingham ministry was not popular, and the succeeding ministry in 1767 passed the Townshend Acts, which imposed a duty on all glass, paper, painters' colors, red lead, white lead, and tea imported into America. The cost of enforcing these taxes against the indignant colonists was more than they yielded in revenue, and after two years Parliament thought it more economical to repeal these taxes, except that on tea, which was kept in force to assert England's right to impose such a tax. This was sufficient to maintain the irritation of the colonists.

The leading Americans and the Whigs in England had earnestly advocated and sought measures of conciliation. As early as May, 1770, Burke had proposed eight resolutions censuring the ministry for dissolving the colonial assemblies, which had petitioned the king on the right of taxation, and for attempting to anticipate the action of Parliament in promising the repeal of the existing taxes.

The feelings of the colonists found an outlet in acts of vengeance, such as the burning of the *Gaspee* off Rhode Island in 1772. The greatest act of violence occurred in Boston in December, 1773. The tax on tea had destroyed the American trade, and the East India Company had suffered so much from this curtailment of sales and from the loss in value of the tea stored in its warehouses, that it was unable to pay the usual subsidy of £400,000 a year to the government for its monopoly. The English legislators did not appreciate the American spirit, and, by granting a drawback on the tax on tea, encouraged the company to send four shiploads to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charlestown. This drawback

enabled it to sell tea in America at a price less than that of tea smuggled from Holland. But the Americans were not to be bribed by the lower price. In all the towns except Boston, the citizens forced the merchants to whom the tea had been sent, to refuse to accept it. In Boston a party of citizens disguised themselves as Indians and threw the tea into the harbor.

When the news of this "Boston Tea Party" reached England, the enraged Parliament did all in its power to punish the offenders. The Boston Port Bill closed the port to all commerce until the town should pay the company for the tea. The Regulating Act annulled the charter of Massachusetts and placed the colony under the military control of General Gage, whose troops were to be quartered on the town. The Quebec Act gave to Canada all the land west of the Ohio River, which had belonged to the different colonies. Far from repressing the American spirit, these acts increased it, and the colonists united against these infringements of their rights.

The united opposition alarmed many Englishmen, among others Mr. Rose Fuller, who, thinking that the tax on tea was the chief cause of resistance, moved in the House of Commons on April 19, 1774, that this tax be repealed. This motion was discussed by five members, and then supported by Burke in his speech on *American Taxation*. A few men spoke briefly in favor of the bill; one opponent criticised what Burke had said of Grenville; and Lord North briefly declared that firmness, and not fear, should rule. Despite the lack of opposing speeches, the motion was defeated by a vote of 49 to 182. Various schemes of conciliation were later suggested by Lord North and by Burke, who in 1775 outlined his plan in his famous speech on *Conciliation with America*, which was rejected by a vote of 78 to 270.

Burke did not yield to discouragement. In May, 1775, as agent for the colony of New York, he presented to the

Commons the remonstrance of the General Assembly of New York, but it was not accepted. His last effort to offer conciliation was on November 16, 1775. Soon after this many of the Whigs, who were in the minority, felt that their efforts to restrain penal acts against America were ineffective and served only to irritate the ministry to greater repressive measures. Consequently Burke and some of his associates stayed away from the sessions of the House of Commons. Burke defended this action in *A Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol*, in which he criticised the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in the colonies. He also denounced the government for hiring 12,000 Hessians to fight against the colonists. In 1779 Burke proposed a motion censuring the ministry for advising General Burgoyne to employ Indians as allies. This ended Burke's efforts to influence American affairs, although he continued to take an active part in opposition to the ministry.

Of the speeches on *American Taxation* and on *Conciliation with America*, Professor C. A. Goodrich says: "After all that has been written on the origin of our Revolution, there is nowhere else to be found so admirable a summation of the causes which produced it. . . . His standpoint in the first was *England*. His topics were the inconsistency and folly of the ministry in their 'miserable circle of occasional arguments and temporary expedients' for raising a revenue in America. His object was to recall the House to the original principles of the English colonial system — that of regulating the trade of the colonies, and making it subservient to the interests of the mother country, while in other respects she left them 'every characteristic mark of a free people in all their internal concerns.' His standpoint in the second speech was *America*. His topics were her growing population, agriculture, commerce, and fisheries; the causes of her fierce spirit of liberty; the impossibility of repressing it by force; and the consequent

necessity of some concession on the part of England. His object was (waiving all abstract questions about the right of taxation) to show that Parliament ought 'to admit the people of the colonies into an interest in the constitution,' by giving them (like Ireland, Wales, Chester, and Durham) a share in the representation; and to do this, by leaving internal taxation to the colonial assemblies, since no one could think of an actual representation of America in Parliament at the distance of three thousand miles. The two speeches were equally diverse in their spirit. The first was in the strain of incessant attack, full of the keenest sarcasm, and shaped from beginning to end for the purpose of putting down the ministry. The second, like the plan it proposed, was conciliatory; temperate and respectful toward Lord North; designed to inform those who were ignorant of the real strength and feelings of America; instinct with the finest philosophy of man and of social institutions; and intended, if possible, to lead the House, through Lord North's scheme, into a final adjustment of the dispute on the true principles of English liberty." Referring again to *American Taxation*, Goodrich says: "No speech had ever been delivered in the Parliament of Great Britain so full at once of deep research, cogent reasoning, cutting sarcasm, graphic description, profound political wisdom, and fervid declamation."¹

FOR HIS PARTY AND HIS COUNTRY

Burke supported his party not only by speeches in Parliament, but also by pamphlets. His first political pamphlet was published in 1766, *A Short Account of a Late Short Administration*; in this he briefly recapitulated the important measures passed by the Rockingham ministry. Three years later he defended his party against the criticisms of Grenville.

¹ C. A. Goodrich's *British Eloquence*, New York, 1852, pp. 215, 241.

In his *Observations on the Present State of the Nation*, Burke showed a remarkable comprehension of the principles and statistics of national commerce. Although Grenville was supposed to have the greatest statistical knowledge of the condition of the country, Burke very easily disclosed misstatements and contradictions in Grenville's pamphlet. Burke himself said: "The first session I sat in Parliament I found it necessary to analyze the whole commercial, constitutional, and foreign interests of Great Britain and its empire."¹

In 1770 Burke wrote a more important pamphlet, which embodied the principles of the Rockingham party. In *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, he traced all the national difficulties to the existence of a group, known as "the King's friends," which really directed the government in secret, although the ministry executed its plans publicly. Burke dubbed this system "the double cabinet." His suggested reform was to restore the government to the control of a political party composed of prominent noblemen and landowners. The pamphlet closed with a defense of the party form of government, which is almost the only defense that a statesman has made of what most men consider a necessary evil. Burke denied that all political connections are in their nature factions, and as such, ought to be destroyed. He insisted that when bad men combine, which they always will do to obtain their base purposes, the good men must associate. Party, he said, is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agreed.²

Burke took such an active part in the opposition that he was supposed to be the author of the anonymous *Junius' Letters*, published in the *Public Advertiser* from 1768 to 1772,

¹ *Letter to a Noble Lord*, Standard English Classics, p. 20.

² *Burke's Works*, I, 530.

which attacked the ministers in powerful but scurrilous language. Burke denied the authorship, and it now seems most probable that the *Letters* were written by (Sir) Philip Francis, who later was Burke's associate in the prosecution of Warren Hastings. Whenever his party thought it wise to make any public statement of importance, Burke was called upon to write it. In 1788-89, when George III was temporarily insane, Burke was kept busy preparing letters and addresses for the Prince of Wales, who hoped to be regent.

Early in 1780 Burke proposed in the House of Commons his bill for *Economical Reform*, which was finally passed in 1782. It reduced the expenses of administration by abolishing the costly judicial and revenue systems of Wales, Lancaster, Chester, and Cornwall, which were separate from those of the rest of England; by abolishing certain lucrative and honorary offices of the royal household — relics of feudalism — such as the Royal Turnspit; by limiting the gross amount of pensions; and by reducing the salary of the Paymaster General.

When his party came into power in 1782, Burke was appointed to this office of Paymaster General. He deserved a more important office, but did not receive it, probably because of his notoriously straitened circumstances, his ungoverned excesses of party zeal and political passion, and the unjust prejudice and clamor against him and his family that they were Roman Catholics and Irish adventurers; — “that hunt of obloquy which has ever pursued me with a full cry through life.” Three months later Lord Rockingham died; Shelburne attempted to hold the ministry together, but was soon succeeded by the Coalition ministry, in which Fox and Burke joined with their former enemy, Lord North. But they were soon forced to resign by the defeat of Fox's East India Bill, and, with the exception of a few months, the Whigs were not in power again for half a century.

In 1791 Burke had his great fight with his party, the Whigs. The year before had appeared his remarkable *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, and in every debate he opposed the Revolution in passionate terms. His party colleagues attempted to restrain him, and failing, urged him to withdraw from Parliament. Very soon he published a defense of his action, entitled *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*. He proved that he had not been inconsistent in supporting the Americans in their struggle for liberty, and in opposing the French Revolution, for he loved a manly, moral, regulated liberty, and not the unrestricted freedom or anarchy which the French demanded. He declared that, although the sovereignty had originated with the people, they had granted it to an hereditary kingship; and that the aristocracy and leaders of the commons constitute the controlling power, and not the mere majority of citizens counted by the head.

In 1794 Burke retired from active public life to his estate at Beaconsfield. He was very much alarmed the next spring to observe that all his wheat was blighted. In the fall the crop throughout the country was found to be very small, and the consequent high price of provisions caused great suffering among the poorer people. When Parliament assembled to discuss measures of relief, Burke felt compelled to write a pamphlet called *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*. In it he counseled delay, declaring that the government could prevent much evil, but could not do much positive good, because the purpose of government was, not to support, but to control the people.

Many superficial critics have tried to sum up Burke's public work by quoting Goldsmith's humorous poem, *Retaliation*:

Here lies our good Edmund, whose genius was such,
We scarcely can praise it or blame it too much;
Who, born for the universe, narrowed his mind,
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.

They forget that these verses were written in 1774, twenty-three years before Burke's death ; they forget that most of his so-called "party pamphlets" are still quoted as authority in questions of national economy.

FOR INDIA

Of all her colonial possessions England was most interested in India, the commerce of which was monopolized by the East India Company. The recent triumphs of Clive over the French and the native princes had brought India into great prominence. It was regarded as a vast treasure house of revenue. The shareholders of the company were continually clamoring for dividends ; the ministers demanded subsidies from the company in addition to the large duties on tea ; and the young Englishmen who went out to India as clerks of the company expected to return, and actually did return, in a few years with large fortunes, even though their salaries scarcely covered their living expenses. No one seemed to consider the natives, their needs and rights.

Burke first became interested in India because his relatives, William and Richard Burke, were speculating in the stock of the company. Later his opposition to Lord North led him to defend the company against the demands of the ministry. The company was not able to pay the annual subsidy of £400,000 and Parliament ordered an investigation of its affairs. In fear of radical innovations, the directors decided to anticipate the action of Parliament by sending out to India a board of supervisors, composed of Burke and two others, with authority to investigate and regulate all the affairs of the company. After much deliberation Burke declined to go, feeling that his party needed him at home.

The condition of the company became worse, and in 1773 it was forced to appeal to Parliament for a loan of £1,500,000. This loan was granted, but with restrictions that practically placed the company in the hands of the ministers. A year later this control was increased by the Regulating Act, which made the board of directors self-perpetuating, established a judicature independent of the executive, and created the office of Governor General of India.

Six years later Burke's interest in India was stimulated by the return of Philip Francis, a member of the Council of Bengal, who had quarreled with Governor Hastings. William Burke had become the European agent of the Nabob of Tanjore, which, despite his protests, was later made tributary to Madras. From these men Burke learned of the mismanagement and cruelty of the company, for which they blamed Hastings. In 1781 Burke was elected a member of a committee of the House of Commons to investigate and regulate the administration of justice in Bengal. He worked unweariedly, reading records, hearing evidence, and drafting reports, two of which, the Ninth and the Eleventh, were written by him. The Ninth Report showed that the commercial policy of the company was self-destructive; India gave everything and received almost nothing. The internal trade was greatly hampered by monopolies granted to English favorites. The Eleventh Report was chiefly a charge of corruption against Hastings.

Late in 1783 Fox proposed his East India Bill. The aim of the bill was to make all Englishmen in India responsible to a board of commissioners, appointed by the ministers, which should have absolute authority over the company and all English interests in India, although the details of administration and of commerce were left in the hands of a board of directors elected by the stockholders. In support of this bill Burke delivered one of his greatest speeches. He was careful

to make clear the Indian terms and to present definite pictures by comparison with objects familiar to his hearers. The English dominions in India were likened to the empire of Germany,—the Nabob of Oude to the king of Prussia. He pointed out the common interests of England and India: “Every means effectual to preserve India from oppression is a guard to preserve the British constitution from its worst corruption.”¹ He declared that the company was responsible to Parliament for the proper exercise of the political power granted by its charter, and that it had greatly abused this power. “Indeed, no trace of equitable government is found in their politics, not one trace of commercial principle in their mercantile dealing.”²

In spite of vigorous opposition the bill passed the House of Commons, but was defeated in the House of Lords by the influence of the King. The Coalition ministry was forced to resign, and the young William Pitt became Prime Minister. He at once passed a bill which attempted to preserve the charter of the company by leaving the administration of its affairs to the directors and by giving the supreme authority over civil and military matters to a board of control nominated by the King and directly responsible to Parliament. This system of double government lasted until 1858, when the direct government of India was transferred from the company to the crown.

The first act of the board of control was to return the £2,000,000 which the Nabob of Arcot said he had borrowed from employees of the company. Fox and Burke urged Parliament to order an investigation of these debts, because it seemed impossible for the minor officers of the company to have lent such enormous sums. Part of the money was supposed to have been paid for troops to destroy Hyder Ali

¹ Burke's *Works*, II, 436.

² *Ibid.*, 508.

Khan, who held the western portion of the main peninsula of Hindustan, as the Nabob of Arcot held the eastern. The most remarkable part of Burke's speech was his description of how Hyder Ali Khan, perceiving the plot against him, gathered a wild horde of soldiers and devastated the frontier of Arcot, completely depopulating a district as large as England and destroying the ten thousand reservoirs necessary for the cultivation of the land.

Burke now gave up hope that the evils in India could be remedied by a change in administration, and determined to prevent any future governor from repeating the cruelties and unjust acts of Hastings by impeaching Hastings before the House of Lords. Burke was not influenced by any hostile personal motives. The only question with him was "whether we would lose India through a mistaken humanity to the persons who had been the authors of our misfortunes, or save India and fifteen millions of people, by properly punishing those that had so materially misbehaved."¹

In April, 1786, he presented against Hastings in the House of Commons twenty-two charges of high crimes and misdemeanors in office. Two years later a committee of twenty managers, with Burke as chairman, was appointed to impeach Hastings before the House of Lords. On February 13, 1788, the trial began in Westminster Hall before the greatest assembly that had ever met in England. Burke opened the prosecution with a speech lasting four days, which introduced and explained the charges, but did not attempt to confirm them.

Three years were spent by Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and other managers in presenting the charges and examining the witnesses, and three more years by the replies of Mr. Hastings' lawyers. In 1794 Burke made a report to the House of Commons on the duration of the trial, showing that although the

¹ Burke's *Works*, IX, 331.

trial had dragged through seven years, the court had been in session only one hundred and eighteen days, because the judges were compelled to be absent on circuit much of the time. Late in May, 1794, Burke closed the trial with a speech of nine days, in which he reviewed all the circumstances of the charges.

One year later Hastings was acquitted by the Lords by a vote of 23 to 6. Burke's enormous work had seemingly failed ; but in reality he had won. He had established the principle that an Englishman in India, or anywhere else, must act according to the same moral principles that control his acts in England. After this no governor ever dared to follow the example of Hastings. Burke had taught the great lesson that "Asiatics have rights and Europeans have obligations ; that a superior race is bound to observe the highest current morality of the time in all its dealings with the subject race."¹

Most men who are familiar with the life of Burke, will agree with what he wrote two years before his death : "If I were to call for a reward (which I have never done), it should be for those [services], in which, for fourteen years without intermission, I showed the most industry and had the least success ; I mean in the affairs of India. They are those on which I value myself the most ; most for the importance, most for the labor, most for the judgment, most for constancy and perseverance."²

AGAINST THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The beginning of the French Revolution was warmly applauded in England by many Whigs, who rejoiced in the effort of the French people to free themselves from despotism.

¹ Morley's *Burke*, p. 133.

² *Letter to a Noble Lord*, Standard English Classics, p. 20.

burdens. Burke, however, feared that the Revolution would have a demoralizing influence in England. Before a year had gone by, he published his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, which was enthusiastically received and ran through eleven editions in one year, about eighty thousand copies being sold. The average Englishman had not known what to think of the Revolution; when he read Burke's sound reasons for disapproving of it, he adopted them as his own and at once condemned it. This book was the most potent factor in molding the English attitude.

Burke argued that a man's opinion of the Revolution should be formed slowly, upon knowledge of the circumstances, for "circumstances are what render every civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind."¹ Not all kinds of liberty are worthy of approval, — only a manly, moral, regulated liberty. The principles upheld in the English Revolution of 1688 did not, as some Englishmen claimed, justify the French Revolution. The excesses of the French Assembly in destroying even what was good in the government was not surprising when the composition of the National Assembly was considered. The members had little political experience, and, carried away by theories on the rights of man, had not wisdom enough to constitute an effective government, for "government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants."² They might have looked to liberty-loving England for example, where the officers of the church were exalted, and the ministers of state consecrated, by the indissoluble union of church and state. He also criticised the measures of the Assembly to reorganize the municipal governments and to weaken the power of the king. With marvellous foresight he predicted that in the frequent changes of government, some popular general, filled with the spirit of command, would obtain control

¹ Burke's *Works*, III, 240.

² *Ibid.*, III, 310.

of the army, and by its power would become the head of the state. This prophecy was fulfilled nine years later in Napoleon.

Burke heartily disapproved of the Revolution because it degraded royalty which he respected, because it overthrew the religion which he venerated, and because it abolished ancient institutions which he honored.

Early in 1791 Burke wrote a long *Letter to a Member of the National Assembly in France*, in answer to some objections to the *Reflections*. He said that help for better government in France must come from without, and would be readily granted, for no country in Europe could consider itself secure "whilst there is established in the very center of it a state (if so it may be called) founded on the principles of anarchy, and which is in reality a college of armed fanatics, for the propagation of the principles of assassination, robbery, rebellion, fraud, oppression, and impiety."¹ In his next work, *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*, he pointed out in greater detail the difference between the French Revolution and the English Revolution of 1688.

In his *Thoughts on French Affairs*, which was addressed in 1791 to the ministers of state, Burke compared the French Revolution to the Reformation, because it was a revolution of doctrine and not of faction. He closed the pamphlet by saying: "I have done with this subject, I believe, forever. It has given me many anxious moments for the last two years."² He did not foresee that it would form the main thoughts of the next six years of his life. Hardly had a year passed before another pamphlet appeared, called *Heads for Consideration on the Present State of Affairs*. It was a mere collection of notes, showing the special danger of Spain, the failure of the Duke of Brunswick's attempt to invade France, and declaring that, in

¹ Burke's *Works*, IV, 17.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 377.

all European combinations against France, England was the natural leader.

England finally joined with the other European countries against France, but carried on the war in such a half-hearted way that in 1793 Burke published his *Remarks on the Policy of the Allies*, which criticised their neglect to take advantage of the French exiles in their campaigns.

In 1796 Burke published the first two *Letters on the Regicide Peace*. In the first *Letter* he criticised the overtures for peace made to France. The second *Letter* discussed the nature and character of the Revolution in its relation to other countries. Burke declared that the existing war was a war between the partisans of the ancient civil, moral, and political order of Europe and a sect of fanatical and ambitious atheists, which sought to change them all.

Soon after Burke's death the third and fourth *Letters* were published. The third *Letter* denounced the French for their lack of statesmanship. The fourth *Letter* was the least interesting of all, criticising the lack of foresight of the English ambassador to France.

Mr. John Morley says of these *Letters*: "They are deplorable. They contain passages of fine philosophy and of skilful and plausible reasoning, but such passages only make us wonder how they come to be where they are. The reader is in no humor for them. In splendor of rhetoric, in fine images, in sustention, in irony, they surpass anything that Burke ever wrote; but of the qualities and principles that, far more than his rhetoric, have made Burke so admirable and so great — of justice, of firm grasp of fact, of a reasonable sense of the probabilities of things — there are only traces enough to light up the gulfs of empty words, reckless phrases, and senseless vituperations, that surge and boil around them."¹

¹ Morley's *Burke*, p. 199.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

The best method of studying this speech on *American Taxation* is to make an outline or a brief of it. An argument is seldom followed or understood by a student, unless he attempts to state it in his own words. He should sum up the meaning of each paragraph in a single sentence, and then by means of symbols show the relation of these sentences to each other. The speech may be divided into four parts.

I. The introduction, consisting of the first five paragraphs. The first paragraph states the character of the debate ; the second, the character of the preceding speech ; the third, the inconsistency of the preceding speaker ; the fourth, the reasons why Burke prefers the historical method of discussion ; and the fifth, Burke's apology for following temporarily the other method of deliberation. They may be outlined as follows :

1. The subject of debate on American taxation is trite.
2. The preceding speech was full of challenges which Burke will discuss in a friendly spirit.
3. The preceding speaker was inconsistent, because he declared that the debate must be limited to the provisions of the motion, and yet he demanded historical detail.
4. Burke prefers this historical mode, which is founded on experience, although
5. he will briefly look over the subject on the narrow ground.

The rest of the speech may be divided as follows :

- II. The "narrow ground for the repeal" (pp. 6-25).
1. The repeal will not lead to demands for other concessions.
 2. The repeal will abolish the preamble of the Act of 1767, which is inconsistent with later acts of Parliament.
 3. The repeal has been promised by the government.

III. The "broader ground for the repeal" (pp. 25-59).

1. The policy of the Navigation Acts.
2. The policy of Grenville.
3. The policy of the Rockingham ministry.
4. The policy of Townshend.

IV. The conclusion or peroration; the appeal for action (pp. 60-68).

This outline should be filled out in detail by the student.

After a student has studied the speech as a whole, he should take up particular portions of it for more detailed consideration. For instance, he should notice how consecutive paragraphs are linked together by catch-words, usually conjunctions or pronouns. In the opening sentence of the second paragraph will be found words, such as *also* or *this*, the meaning of which can be discovered only by referring back to the first paragraph. Sometimes the connection does not appear in any one word, but in the thought.

Interesting essays may be prepared and read to the class on such subjects as the following :

1. The aphorisms in this speech. Make a complete list of them, classify them, and then write an explanation of the meaning and application of one of them.
2. The figures of the speech. Are they numerous? Does one kind predominate?
3. The resistance to the Stamp Act.
4. The Boston Tea Party.
5. The East India Company.
6. A comparison of the House of Commons with the House of Representatives of the United States.
7. The colonial governments.
8. The life of the Earl of Chatham.

9. The government of the colonies of the United States, — Porto Rico, and the Philippines.
10. The present government of the English dependencies, — Canada, India, Australia.

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S P E E C H
O F
EDMUND BURKE, Esq.
O N
AMERICAN TAXATION,
A P R I L 19, 1774.
THE SECOND EDITION.



L O N D O N:
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PREFACE

The following speech has been much the subject of conversation ; and the desire of having it printed was last summer very general. The means of gratifying the public curiosity were obligingly furnished from the notes of some gentlemen, members of the last Parliament.

This piece has been for some months ready for the press. But a delicacy, possibly over-scrupulous, has delayed the publication to this time. The friends of administration have been used to attribute a great deal of the opposition to their measures in America to the writings published in England. The editor 10 of this speech kept it back, until all the measures of government have had their full operation, and can be no longer affected, if ever they could have been affected, by any publication.

Most readers will recollect the uncommon pains taken at the beginning of the last session of the last Parliament, and 15 indeed during the whole course of it, to asperse the characters, and decry the measures, of those who were supposed to be friends to America ; in order to weaken the effect of their opposition to the acts of rigor then preparing against the colonies. This speech contains a full refutation of the charges 20 against that party with which Mr. Burke has all along acted. In doing this, he has taken a review of the effects of all the schemes which have been successively adopted in the government of the plantations. The subject is interesting ; the matters of information various, and important ; and the publication at 25 this time, the editor hopes, will not be thought unseasonable.

SPEECH OF EDMUND BURKE, ESQ.

During the last session of the last Parliament, on the 19th of April, 1774, Mr. Rose Fuller, member for Rye, made the following motion ; That an act made in the seventh year of

the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America ; for allowing a drawback of the duties of customs upon the exportation from this kingdom of coffee and cocoa
5 nuts, of the produce of the said colonies or plantations ; for discontinuing the drawbacks payable on china earthen ware exported to America ; and for more effectually preventing the clandestine running of goods in the said colonies and plantations ;" might be read.

10 And the same being read accordingly ; he moved, "That this House will, upon this day sevensnight, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the duty of 3*d.* per pound weight upon tea, payable in all his Majesty's dominions in America, imposed by the said act ;
15 and also the appropriation of the said duty."

On this latter motion a warm and interesting debate arose, in which Mr. Edmund Burke spoke as follows :

SIR,

I agree with the honorable gentleman who spoke last, that
20 this subject is not new in this House. Very disagreeably to this House, very unfortunately to this nation, and to the peace and prosperity of this whole empire, no topic has been more familiar to us. For nine long years, session after session, we have been lashed round and round this miserable circle of
25 occasional arguments and temporary expedients. I am sure our heads must turn, and our stomachs nauseate with them. We have had them in every shape ; we have looked at them in every point of view. Invention is exhausted ; reason is fatigued ; experience has given judgment ; but obstinacy is
30 not yet conquered.

The honorable gentleman has made one endeavor more to diversify the form of this disgusting argument. He has thrown out a speech composed almost entirely of challenges. Challenges are serious things ; and as he is a man of prudence as
35 well as resolution, I dare say he has very well weighed those

challenges before he delivered them. I had long the happiness to sit at the same side of the House, and to agree with the honorable gentleman on all the American questions. My sentiments, I am sure, are well known to him ; and I thought I had been perfectly acquainted with his. Though I find myself mistaken, he will still permit me to use the privilege of an old friendship ; he will permit me to apply myself to the House under the sanction of his authority ; and, on the various grounds he has measured out, to submit to you the poor opinions which I have formed upon a matter of importance enough to demand the fullest consideration I could bestow upon it. 5 10

He has stated to the House two grounds of deliberation ; one narrow and simple, and merely confined to the question on your paper : the other more large and more complicated ; comprehending the whole series of the parliamentary proceedings with regard to America, their causes, and their consequences. With regard to the latter ground, he states it as useless, and thinks it may be even dangerous, to enter into so extensive a field of inquiry. Yet, to my surprise, he had hardly laid down this restrictive proposition, to which his authority would have given so much weight, when directly, and with the same authority, he condemns it ; and declares it absolutely necessary to enter into the most ample historical detail. His zeal has thrown him a little out of his usual accuracy. In this perplexity what shall we do, Sir, who are willing to submit to the law he gives us ? He has reprobated in one part of his speech the rule he had laid down for debate in the other ; and, after narrowing the ground for all those who are to speak after him, he takes an excursion himself, as unbounded as the subject and the extent of his great abilities. 15 20 25 30

Sir, when I cannot obey all his laws, I will do the best I can. I will endeavor to obey such of them as have the sanction

of his example ; and to stick to that rule, which, though not consistent with the other, is the most rational. He was certainly in the right when he took the matter largely. I cannot prevail on myself to agree with him in his censure of his own
5 conduct. It is not, he will give me leave to say, either useless or dangerous. He asserts, that retrospect is not wise ; and the proper, the only proper, subject of inquiry is, “ not how we got into this difficulty, but how we are to get out of it.” In other words, we are, according to him, to consult our invention, and
10 to reject our experience. The mode of deliberation he recommends is diametrically opposite to every rule of reason, and every principle of good sense established amongst mankind. For, that sense and that reason, I have always understood, absolutely to prescribe, whenever we are involved in difficulties
15 from the measures we have pursued, that we should take a strict review of those measures, in order to correct our errors, if they should be corrigible ; or at least to avoid a dull uniformity in mischief, and the unpitied calamity of being repeatedly caught in the same snare.

20 Sir, I will freely follow the honorable gentleman in his historical discussion, without the least management for men or measures, further than as they shall seem to me to deserve it. But before I go into that large consideration, because I would omit nothing that can give the House satisfaction, I wish to
25 tread the narrow ground to which alone the honorable gentleman, in one part of his speech, has so strictly confined us.

He desires to know, whether, if we were to repeal this tax, agreeably to the proposition of the honorable gentleman who made the motion, the Americans would not take post on this
30 concession, in order to make a new attack on the next body of taxes ; and whether they would not call for a repeal of the duty on wine as loudly as they do now for the repeal of the duty on tea? Sir, I can give no security on this subject. But

I will do all that I can, and all that can be fairly demanded. To the *experience* which the honorable gentleman reprobates in one instant, and reverts to in the next; to that experience, without the least wavering or hesitation on my part, I steadily appeal; and would to God there was no other arbiter 5 to decide on the vote with which the House is to conclude this day!

When Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in the year 1766, I affirm, first, that the Americans did *not* in consequence of this measure call upon you to give up the former parliamentary 10 revenue which subsisted in that country; or even any one of the articles which compose it. I affirm also, that when, departing from the maxims of that repeal, you revived the scheme of taxation, and thereby filled the minds of the colonists with new jealousy, and all sorts of apprehensions, then it was that they 15 quarreled with the old taxes, as well as the new; then it was, and not till then, that they questioned all the parts of your legislative power; and by the battery of such questions have shaken the solid structure of this empire to its deepest foundations.

Of those two propositions I shall, before I have done, give 20 such convincing, such damning proof, that however the contrary may be whispered in circles, or bawled in newspapers, they never more will dare to raise their voices in this House. I speak with great confidence. I have reason for it. The ministers are with me. *They* at least are convinced that the 25 repeal of the Stamp Act had not, and that no repeal can have, the consequences which the honorable gentleman who defends their measures is so much alarmed at. To their conduct I refer him for a conclusive answer to his objection. I carry my proof irresistibly into the very body of both ministry 30 and Parliament; not on any general reasoning growing out of collateral matter, but on the conduct of the honorable gentleman's ministerial friends on the new revenue itself.

The act of 1767, which grants this tea duty, sets forth in its preamble, that it was expedient to raise a revenue in America, for the support of the civil government there, as well as for purposes still more extensive. To this support the act assigns
5 six branches of duties. About two years after this act passed, the ministry, I mean the present ministry, thought it expedient to repeal five of the duties, and to leave (for reasons best known to themselves) only the sixth standing. Suppose any person, at the time of that repeal, had thus addressed the minister,
10 "Condemning, as you do, the repeal of the Stamp Act, why do you venture to repeal the duties upon glass, paper, and painters' colors? Let your pretense for the repeal be what it will, are you not thoroughly convinced, that your concessions will produce, not satisfaction, but insolence in the Americans; and
15 that the giving up these taxes will necessitate the giving up of all the rest?" This objection was as palpable then as it is now; and it was as good for preserving the five duties as for retaining the sixth. Besides, the minister will recollect, that the repeal of the Stamp Act had but just preceded his repeal;
20 and the ill policy of that measure (had it been so impolitic as it has been represented), and the mischiefs it produced, were quite recent. Upon the principles therefore of the honorable gentleman, upon the principles of the minister himself, the minister has nothing at all to answer. He stands condemned
25 by himself, and by all his associates old and new, as a destroyer, in the first trust of finance, of the revenues; and in the first rank of honor, as a betrayer of the dignity of his country.

Most men, especially great men, do not always know their well-wishers. I come to rescue that noble lord out of the
30 hands of those he calls his friends; and even out of his own. I will do him the justice he is denied at home. He has not been this wicked or imprudent man. He knew that a repeal had no tendency to produce the mischiefs which give so much

alarm to his honorable friend. His work was not bad in its principle, but imperfect in its execution ; and the motion on your paper presses him only to complete a proper plan, which, by some unfortunate and unaccountable error, he had left unfinished.

I hope, Sir, the honorable gentleman who spoke last, is 5 thoroughly satisfied, and satisfied out of the proceedings of ministry on their own favorite act, that his fears from a repeal are groundless. If he is not, I leave him, and the noble lord who sits by him, to settle the matter, as well as they can, together ; for if the repeal of American taxes destroys all our 10 government in America—He is the man!—and he is the worst of all the repealers, because he is the last.

But I hear it rung continually in my ears, now and formerly, —“the preamble! what will become of the preamble, if you repeal this tax?”—I am sorry to be compelled so often to 15 expose the calamities and disgraces of Parliament. The preamble of this law, standing as it now stands, has the lie direct given to it by the provisional part of the act ; if that can be called provisional which makes no provision. I should be afraid to express myself in this manner, especially in the face 20 of such a formidable array of ability as is now drawn up before me, composed of the ancient household troops of that side of the House, and the new recruits from this, if the matter were not clear and indisputable. Nothing but truth could give me this firmness ; but plain truth and clear evidence can be beat 25 down by no ability. The clerk will be so good as to turn to the act, and to read this favorite preamble :

Whereas it is *expedient* that a revenue should be raised in your Majesty's dominions in America, for making a more *certain* and *adequate* provision for defraying the charge of the *administration* 30 *of justice, and support of civil government*, in such provinces where it shall be found necessary ; and towards *further defraying* the expenses of *defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions*.

You have heard this pompous performance. Now where is the revenue which is to do all these mighty things? Five-sixths repealed — abandoned — sunk — gone — lost for ever. Does the poor solitary tea duty support the purposes of this preamble? Is not the supply there stated as effectually abandoned as if the tea duty had perished in the general wreck? Here, Mr. Speaker, is a precious mockery — a preamble without an act — taxes granted in order to be repealed — and the reasons of the grant still carefully kept up! This is raising a revenue in America! This is preserving dignity in England! If you repeal this tax in compliance with the motion, I readily admit that you lose this fair preamble. Estimate your loss in it. The object of the act is gone already; and all you suffer is the purging the statute-book of the opprobrium of an empty, absurd, and false recital.

It has been said again and again, that the five taxes were repealed on commercial principles. It is so said in the paper in my hand; a paper which I constantly carry about; which I have often used, and shall often use again. What is got by this paltry pretense of commercial principles I know not; for, if your government in America is destroyed by the *repeal of taxes*, it is of no consequence upon what ideas the repeal is grounded. Repeal this tax too upon commercial principles if you please. These principles will serve as well now as they did formerly. But you know that, either your objection to a repeal from these supposed consequences has no validity, or that this pretense never could remove it. This commercial motive never was believed by any man, either in America, which this letter is meant to soothe, or in England, which it is meant to deceive. It was impossible it should. Because every man, in the least acquainted with the detail of commerce, must know, that several of the articles on which the tax was repealed, were fitter objects of duties than almost any

other articles that could possibly be chosen ; without comparison more so, than the tea that was left taxed ; as infinitely less liable to be eluded by contraband. The tax upon red and white lead was of this nature. You have, in this kingdom, an advantage in lead, that amounts to a monopoly. When you find yourself in this situation of advantage, you sometimes venture to tax even your own export. You did so, soon after the last war ; when, upon this principle, you ventured to impose a duty on coals. In all the articles of American contraband trade, who ever heard of the smuggling of red lead, and white lead ? You might, therefore, well enough, without danger of contraband, and without injury to commerce (if this were the whole consideration) have taxed these commodities. The same may be said of glass. Besides, some of the things taxed were so trivial, that the loss of the objects themselves, and their utter annihilation out of American commerce, would have been comparatively as nothing. But is the article of tea such an object in the trade of England, as not to be felt, or felt but slightly, like white lead and red lead, and painters' colors ? Tea is an object of far other importance. Tea is perhaps the most important object, taking it with its necessary connections, of any in the mighty circle of our commerce. If commercial principles had been the true motives to the repeal, or had they been at all attended to, tea would have been the last article we should have left taxed for a subject of controversy.

Sir, it is not a pleasant consideration ; but nothing in the world can read so awful and so instructive a lesson, as the conduct of ministry in this business, upon the mischief of not having large and liberal ideas in the management of great affairs. Never have the servants of the state looked at the whole of your complicated interests in one connected view. They have taken things by bits and scraps, some at one time

and one pretense, and some at another, just as they pressed, without any sort of regard to their relations or dependencies. They never had any kind of system, right or wrong ; but only invented occasionally some miserable tale for the day, in order
5 meanly to sneak out of difficulties, into which they had proudly strutted. And they were put to all these shifts and devices, full of meanness and full of mischief, in order to pilfer piecemeal a repeal of an act, which they had not the generous courage, when they found and felt their error, honorably and
10 fairly to disclaim. By such management, by the irresistible operation of feeble councils, so paltry a sum as threepence in the eyes of a financier, so insignificant an article as tea in the eyes of a philosopher, have shaken the pillars of a commercial empire that circled the whole globe.

15 Do you forget that, in the very last year, you stood on the precipice of general bankruptcy? Your danger was indeed great. You were distressed in the affairs of the East India Company ; and you well know what sort of things are involved in the comprehensive energy of that significant appellation.
20 I am not called upon to enlarge to you on that danger, which you thought proper yourselves to aggravate, and to display to the world with all the parade of indiscreet declamation. The monopoly of the most lucrative trades, and the possession of imperial revenues, had brought you to the verge of beggary
25 and ruin. Such was your representation — such, in some measure, was your case. The vent of ten millions of pounds of this commodity, now locked up by the operation of an injudicious tax, and rotting in the warehouses of the company, would have prevented all this distress, and all that series of
30 desperate measures which you thought yourselves obliged to take in consequence of it. America would have furnished that vent, which no other part of the world can furnish but America ; where tea is next to a necessary of life ; and where the demand

grows upon the supply. I hope our dear-bought East India committees have done us at least so much good, as to let us know, that, without a more extensive sale of that article, our East India revenues and acquisitions can have no certain connection with this country. It is through the American trade of tea that your East India conquests are to be prevented from crushing you with their burden. They are ponderous indeed ; and they must have that great country to lean upon, or they tumble upon your head. It is the same folly that has lost you at once the benefit of the West and of the East. This folly has thrown open folding-doors to contraband ; and will be the means of giving the profits of the trade of your colonies, to every nation but yourselves. Never did a people suffer so much for the empty words of a preamble. It must be given up. For on what principle does it stand? This famous revenue stands, at this hour, on all the debate, as a description of revenue not as yet known in all the comprehensive (but too comprehensive !) vocabulary of finance — *a preamble tax*. It is indeed a tax of sophistry, a tax of pedantry, a tax of disputation, a tax of war and rebellion, a tax for anything but benefit to the imposers, or satisfaction to the subject.

Well ! but whatever it is, gentlemen will force the colonists to take the teas. You will force them? Has seven years' struggle been yet able to force them? O but it seems "we are in the right. The tax is trifling — in effect it is rather an exoneration than an imposition ; three-fourths of the duty formerly payable on teas exported to America is taken off ; the place of collection is only shifted ; instead of the retention of a shilling from the drawback here, it is threepence custom paid in America." All this, Sir, is very true. But this is the very folly and mischief of the act. Incredible as it may seem, you know that you have deliberately thrown away a large duty which you

held secure and quiet in your hands, for the vain hope of getting one three-fourths less, through every hazard, through certain litigation, and possibly through war.

The manner of proceeding in the duties on paper and glass, 5 imposed by the same act, was exactly in the same spirit. There are heavy excises on those articles when used in England. On export, these excises are drawn back. But instead of withholding the drawback, which might have been done, with ease, without charge, without possibility of smuggling; 10 and instead of applying the money (money already in your hands) according to your pleasure, you began your operations in finance by flinging away your revenue; you allowed the whole drawback on export, and then you charged the duty (which you had before discharged), payable in the colonies; 15 where it was certain the collection would devour it to the bone, if any revenue were ever suffered to be collected at all. One spirit pervades and animates the whole mass.

Could anything be a subject of more just alarm to America, than to see you go out of the plain high road of finance, and 20 give up your most certain revenues and your clearest interests, merely for the sake of insulting your colonies? No man ever doubted that the commodity of tea could bear an imposition of threepence. But no commodity will bear threepence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The 25 feelings of the colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden when called upon for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! 30 but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave. It is the weight of that preamble, of which you are so fond, and not the weight of the duty, that the Americans are unable and unwilling to bear.

It is then, Sir, upon the *principle* of this measure, and nothing else, that we are at issue. It is a principle of political expediency. Your act of 1767 asserts, that it is expedient to raise a revenue in America; your act of 1769, which takes away that revenue, contradicts the act of 1767; and, by something much stronger than words, asserts, that it is not expedient. It is a reflection upon your wisdom to persist in a solemn parliamentary declaration of the expediency of any object, for which, at the same time, you make no sort of provision. And pray, Sir, let not this circumstance escape you; it is very material; that the preamble of this act, which we wish to repeal, is not *declaratory of a right*, as some gentlemen seem to argue it; it is only a recital of the *expediency* of a certain exercise of a right supposed already to have been asserted; an exercise you are now contending for by ways and means, which you confess, though they were obeyed, to be utterly insufficient for their purpose. You are therefore at this moment in the awkward situation of fighting for a phantom; a quiddity; a thing that wants, not only a substance, but even a name; for a thing, which is neither abstract right, nor profitable enjoyment.

They tell you, Sir, that your dignity is tied to it. I know not how it happens, but this dignity of yours is a terrible incumbrance to you; for it has of late been ever at war with your interest, your equity, and every idea of your policy. Show the thing you contend for to be reason; show it to be common sense; show it to be the means of attaining some useful end; and then I am content to allow it what dignity you please. But what dignity is derived from the perseverance in absurdity is more than ever I could discern. The honorable gentleman has said well—indeed, in most of his *general* observations I agree with him—he says, that this subject does not stand as it did formerly. Oh, certainly not! every hour you continue on this ill-chosen ground, your difficulties thicken on you; and

therefore my conclusion is, remove from a bad position as quickly as you can. The disgrace, and the necessity of yielding, both of them, grow upon you every hour of your delay.

But will you repeal the act, says the honorable gentleman, 5 at this instant when America is in open resistance to your authority, and that you have just revived your system of taxation? He thinks he has driven us into a corner. But thus pent up, I am content to meet him; because I enter the lists supported by my old authority, his new friends, the ministers 10 themselves. The honorable gentleman remembers, that about five years ago as great disturbances as the present prevailed in America on account of the new taxes. The ministers represented these disturbances as treasonable; and this House thought proper, on that representation, to make a 15 famous address for a revival, and for a new application of a statute of Henry VIII. We besought the King, in that well-considered address, to inquire into treasons, and to bring the supposed traitors from America to Great Britain for trial. His Majesty was pleased graciously to promise a compliance with 20 our request. All the attempts from this side of the House to resist these violences, and to bring about a repeal, were treated with the utmost scorn. An apprehension of the very consequences now stated by the honorable gentleman, was then given as a reason for shutting the door against all hope of 25 such an alteration. And so strong was the spirit for supporting the new taxes, that the session concluded with the following remarkable declaration. After stating the vigorous measures which had been pursued, the speech from the throne proceeds:

30 You have assured me of your *firm* support in the *prosecution* of them. Nothing, in my opinion, could be more likely to enable the well-disposed among my subjects in that part of the world, effectually to discourage and defeat the designs

of the factious and seditious, than the hearty concurrence of every branch of the legislature, in *maintaining the execution of the laws in every* part of my dominions.

After this no man dreamt that a repeal under this ministry could possibly take place. The honorable gentleman knows 5 as well as I, that the idea was utterly exploded by those who sway the House. This speech was made on the ninth day of May, 1769. Five days after this speech, that is, on the 13th of the same month, the public circular letter, a part of which I am going to read to you, was written by Lord Hillsborough, 10 Secretary of State for the colonies. After reciting the substance of the King's speech, he goes on thus :

“I can take upon me to assure you, notwithstanding insinuations to the contrary, from men with *factious and seditious views*, that his Majesty's *present administration have at no* 15 *time entertained a design to propose to Parliament to lay any further taxes upon America, for the purpose of RAISING A REVENUE* ; and that it is at present their intention to propose, the next session of Parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colors, upon consideration of such duties 20 *having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce.*

“These have *always* been, and *still are*, the sentiments of his *Majesty's present servants* ; and by which their conduct in *respect to America has been governed.* And *his Majesty* relies upon your prudence and fidelity for such an explanation of 25 *his* measures, as may tend to remove the prejudices which have been excited by the misrepresentations of those who are enemies to the peace and prosperity of Great Britain and her colonies ; and to reëstablish that mutual *confidence and affection*, upon which the glory and safety of the British empire 30 depend.”

Here, Sir, is a canonical book of ministerial scripture ; the general epistle to the Americans. What does the gentleman

say to it? Here a repeal is promised ; promised without condition ; and while your authority was actually resisted. I pass by the public promise of a peer relative to the repeal of taxes by this House. I pass by the use of the King's name in a
5 matter of supply, that sacred and reserved right of the Commons. I conceal the ridiculous figure of Parliament, hurling its thunders at the gigantic rebellion of America ; and then five days after, prostrate at the feet of those assemblies we affected to despise ; begging them, by the intervention of our
10 ministerial sureties, to receive our submission ; and heartily promising amendment. These might have been serious matters formerly ; but we are grown wiser than our fathers. Passing, therefore, from the constitutional consideration to the mere policy, does not this letter imply, that the idea of taxing
15 America for the purpose of revenue is an abominable project ; when the ministry suppose none but *factionous* men, and with seditious views, could charge them with it? does not this letter adopt and sanctify the American distinction of *taxing for a revenue* ? does it not formally reject all future taxation
20 on that principle? does it not state the ministerial rejection of such principle of taxation, not as the occasional, but the constant opinion of the King's servants? does it not say (I care not how consistently), but does it not say, that their conduct with regard to America has been *always* governed by this
25 policy? It goes a great deal further. These excellent and trusty servants of the King, justly fearful lest they themselves should have lost all credit with the world, bring out the image of their gracious sovereign from the inmost and most sacred shrine, and they pawn him as a security for their promises —
30 "*His Majesty* relies on your prudence and fidelity for such an explanation of *his* measures." These sentiments of the minister, and these measures of his Majesty, can only relate to the principle and practice of taxing for a revenue ; and

accordingly Lord Botetourt, stating it as such, did, with great propriety, and in the exact spirit of his instructions, endeavor to remove the fears of the Virginian assembly, lest the sentiments, which it seems (unknown to the world) had *always* been those of the ministers, and by which *their* conduct in 5 *respect to America had been governed*, should by some possible revolution, favorable to wicked American taxers, be hereafter counteracted. He addresses them in this manner :

It may possibly be objected, that, as his Majesty's present administration are *not immortal*, their successors may be inclined 10 to attempt to undo what the present ministers shall have attempted to perform ; and to that objection I can give but this answer : that it is my firm opinion, that the plan I have stated to you will certainly take place, and that it will never be departed from ; and so determined am I for ever to abide 15 by it, that I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not, to the last hour of my life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power with which I either am, or ever shall be legally invested, in order to obtain and *main-*
tain for the continent of America that *satisfaction* which I have 20 been authorized to promise this day, by the *confidential* servants of our gracious sovereign, who to my certain knowledge rates his honor so high, *that he would rather part with his crown, than preserve it by deceit.*

A glorious and true character ! which (since we suffer his 25 ministers with impunity to answer for his ideas of taxation) we ought to make it our business to enable his Majesty to preserve in all its lustre. Let him have character, since ours is no more ! Let some part of government be kept in respect !

This epistle was not the letter of Lord Hillsborough solely ; 30 though he held the official pen. It was the letter of the noble lord upon the floor, and of all the King's then ministers, who (with I think the exception of two only) are his ministers at

this hour. The very first news that a British Parliament heard of what it was to do with the duties which it had given and granted to the King, was by the publication of the votes of American assemblies. It was in America that your resolutions
5 were pre-declared. It was from thence that we knew to a certainty, how much exactly, and not a scruple more nor less, we were to repeal. We were unworthy to be let into the secret of our own conduct. The assemblies had *confidential* communications from his Majesty's *confidential* servants. We were nothing but instruments. Do you, after this, wonder that you have
10 no weight and no respect in the colonies? After this, are you surprised, that Parliament is every day and everywhere losing (I feel it with sorrow, I utter it with reluctance) that reverential affection, which so endearing a name of authority ought
15 ever to carry with it; that you are obeyed solely from respect to the bayonet; and that this House, the ground and pillar of freedom, is itself held up only by the treacherous underpinning and clumsy buttresses of arbitrary power?

If this dignity, which is to stand in the place of just policy
20 and common sense, had been consulted, there was a time for preserving it, and for reconciling it with any concession. If in the session of 1768, that session of idle terror and empty menaces, you had, as you were often pressed to do, repealed these taxes; then your strong operations would have come justified
25 and enforced, in case your concessions had been returned by outrages. But, preposterously, you began with violence; and before terrors could have any effect, either good or bad, your ministers immediately begged pardon, and promised that repeal to the obstinate Americans which they had refused in an easy,
30 good-natured, complying British Parliament. The assemblies which had been publicly and avowedly dissolved for *their* contumacy, are called together to receive *your* submission. Your ministerial directors blustered like tragic tyrants here; and

then went mumping with a sore leg in America, canting and whining, and complaining of faction, which represented them as friends to a revenue from the colonies. I hope nobody in this House will hereafter have the impudence to defend American taxes in the name of ministry. The moment they 5 do, with this letter of attorney in my hand, I will tell them, in the authorized terms, they are wretches, "with factious and seditious views; enemies to the peace and prosperity of the mother country and the colonies," and subverters "of the mutual affection and confidence on which the glory and safety 10 of the British empire depend."

After this letter, the question is no more on propriety or dignity. They are gone already. The faith of your sovereign is pledged for the political principle. The general declaration in the letter goes to the whole of it. You must therefore 15 either abandon the scheme of taxing; or you must send the ministers tarred and feathered to America, who dared to hold out the royal faith for a renunciation of all taxes for revenue. Them you must punish, or this faith you must preserve. The preservation of this faith is of more consequence than the duties 20 on *red lead*, or *white lead*, or on broken *glass*, or *atlas-ordinary*, or *demi-fine*, or *blue royal*, or *bastard*, or *fool's-cap*, which you have given up; or the threepence on tea which you retained. The letter went stamp'd with the public authority of this kingdom. The instructions for the colony government go under no 25 other sanction; and America cannot believe, and will not obey you, if you do not preserve this channel of communication sacred. You are now punishing the colonies for acting on distinctions, held out by that very ministry which is here shining in riches, in favor, and in power; and urging the punishment of the very 30 offense to which they had themselves been the tempters.

Sir, if reasons respecting simply your own commerce, which is your own convenience, were the sole grounds of the repeal

of the five duties ; why does Lord Hillsborough, in disclaiming in the name of the King and ministry their ever having had an intent to tax for revenue, mention it as the means “ of reëstablishing the confidence and affection of the colonies? ”

5 Is it a way of soothing *others*, to assure them that you will take good care of *yourself*? The medium, the only medium, for regaining their affection and confidence is, that you will take off something oppressive to their minds. Sir, the letter strongly enforces that idea ; for though the repeal of the taxes
10 is promised on commercial principles, yet the means of counteracting “ the insinuations of men with factious and seditious views,” is by a disclaimer of the intention of taxing for revenue, as a constant invariable sentiment and rule of conduct in the government of America.

15 I remember that the noble lord on the floor, not in a former debate to be sure (it would be disorderly to refer to it, I suppose I read it somewhere), but the noble lord was pleased to say, that he did not conceive how it could enter into the head of man to impose such taxes as those of 1767 ; I mean
20 those taxes which he voted for imposing, and voted for repealing ; as being taxes, contrary to all the principles of commerce, laid on *British manufactures*.

I dare say the noble lord is perfectly well read, because the duty of his particular office requires he should be so, in all
25 our revenue laws ; and in the policy which is to be collected out of them. Now, Sir, when he had read this act of American revenue, and a little recovered from his astonishment, I suppose he made one step retrograde (it is but one) and looked at the act which stands just before in the statute-book.
30 The American revenue act is the forty-fifth chapter ; the other to which I refer is the forty-fourth of the same session. These two acts are both to the same purpose ; both revenue acts ; both taxing out of the kingdom ; and both taxing British

manufactures exported. As the 45th is an act for raising a revenue in America, the 44th is an act for raising a revenue in the Isle of Man. The two acts perfectly agree in all respects, except one. In the act for taxing the Isle of Man, the noble lord will find (not, as in the American act, four or five articles) but almost the *whole body* of British manufactures, taxed from two and a half to fifteen *per cent.*, and some articles, such as that of spirits, a great deal higher. You did not think it uncommercial to tax the whole mass of your manufactures, and, let me add, your agriculture too; for, I now recollect, British corn is there also taxed up to ten *per cent.*, and this too in the very headquarters, the very citadel of smuggling, the Isle of Man. Now will the noble lord condescend to tell me why he repealed the taxes on your manufactures sent out to America, and not the taxes on the manufactures exported to the Isle of Man? The principle was exactly the same, the objects charged infinitely more extensive, the duties without comparison higher. Why? Why, notwithstanding all his childish pretexts, because the taxes were quietly submitted to in the Isle of Man; and because they raised a flame in America. Your reasons were political, not commercial. The repeal was made, as Lord Hillsborough's letter well expresses it, to regain "the confidence and affection of the colonies, on which the glory and safety of the British empire depend." A wise and just motive surely, if ever there was such. But the mischief and dishonor is, that you have not done what you had given the colonies just cause to expect, when your ministers disclaimed the idea of taxes for a revenue. There is nothing simple, nothing manly, nothing ingenuous, open, decisive, or steady, in the proceeding, with regard either to the continuance or the repeal of the taxes. The whole has an air of littleness and fraud. The article of tea is slurred over in the circular letter, as it were by accident — nothing is said of a

resolution either to keep that tax, or to give it up. There is no fair dealing in any part of the transaction.

If you mean to follow your true motive and your public faith, give up your tax on tea for raising a revenue, the principle of
5 which has, in effect, been disclaimed in your name ; and which produces you no advantage ; no, not a penny. Or, if you choose to go on with a poor pretense instead of a solid reason, and will still adhere to your cant of commerce, you have ten
10 thousand times more strong commercial reasons for giving up this duty on tea, than for abandoning the five others that you have already renounced.

The American consumption of teas is annually, I believe, worth £300,000 at the least farthing. If you urge the American violence as a justification of your perseverance in enforcing
15 this tax, you know that you can never answer this plain question — Why did you repeal the others given in the same act, whilst the very same violence subsisted? — But you did not find the violence cease upon that concession. — No ! because the concession was far short of satisfying the principle which
20 Lord Hillsborough had abjured ; or even the pretense on which the repeal of the other taxes was announced : and because, by enabling the East India Company to open a shop for defeating the American resolution not to pay that specific tax, you manifestly showed a hankering after the principle of the act which
25 you formerly had renounced. Whatever road you take leads to a compliance with this motion. It opens to you at the end of every vista. Your commerce, your policy, your promises, your reasons, your pretenses, your consistency, your inconsistency — all jointly oblige you to this repeal.

30 But still it sticks in our throats, if we go so far, the Americans will go farther.— We do not know that. We ought, from experience, rather to presume the contrary. Do we not know for certain, that the Americans are going on as fast as

possible, whilst we refuse to gratify them? Can they do more, or can they do worse, if we yield this point? I think this concession will rather fix a turnpike to prevent their further progress. It is impossible to answer for bodies of men. But I am sure the natural effect of fidelity, clemency, kindness in 5 governors, is peace, good-will, order, and esteem, on the part of the governed. I would certainly, at least, give these fair principles a fair trial; which, since the making of this act to this hour, they never have had.

Sir, the honorable gentleman having spoken what he thought 10 necessary upon the narrow part of the subject, I have given him, I hope, a satisfactory answer. He next presses me by a variety of direct challenges and oblique reflections to say something on the historical part. I shall therefore, Sir, open myself fully on that important and delicate subject; not for the sake 15 of telling you a long story (which, I know, Mr. Speaker, you are not particularly fond of), but for the sake of the weighty instruction that, I flatter myself, will necessarily result from it. It shall not be longer, if I can help it, than so serious a matter requires. 20

Permit me then, Sir, to lead your attention very far back; back to the Act of Navigation; the corner-stone of the policy of this country with regard to its colonies. Sir, that policy was, from the beginning, purely commercial; and the commercial system was wholly restrictive. It was the system of a monopoly. 25 No trade was let loose from that constraint, but merely to enable the colonists to dispose of what, in the course of your trade, you could not take; or to enable them to dispose of such articles as we forced upon them, and for which, without some degree of liberty, they could not pay. Hence all your 30 specific and detailed enumerations: hence the innumerable checks and counterchecks: hence that infinite variety of paper chains by which you bind together this complicated system of

the colonies. This principle of commercial monopoly runs through no less than twenty-nine acts of Parliament, from the year 1660 to the unfortunate period of 1764.

In all those acts the system of commerce is established, as
5 that from whence alone you proposed to make the colonies contribute (I mean directly and by the operation of your superintending legislative power) to the strength of the empire. I venture to say, that during that whole period, a parliamentary revenue from thence was never once in contemplation. Accord-
10 ingly, in all the number of laws passed with regard to the plantations, the words which distinguish revenue laws, specifically as such, were, I think, premeditatedly avoided. I do not say, Sir, that a form of words alters the nature of the law, or abridges the power of the lawgiver. It certainly does not. However,
15 titles and formal preambles are not always idle words; and the lawyers frequently argue from them. I state these facts to show, not what was your right, but what has been your settled policy. Our revenue laws have usually a *title*, purporting their being *grants*, and the words *give and grant* usually precede
20 the enacting parts. Although duties were imposed on America in acts of King Charles the Second, and in acts of King William, no one title of giving "an aid to his Majesty," or any other of the usual titles to revenue acts, was to be found in any of them till 1764; nor were the words "give and grant"
25 in any preamble until the 6th of George the Second. However the title of this act of George the Second, notwithstanding the words of donation, considers it merely as a regulation of trade, "An act for the better securing of the trade of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America." This act was made on
30 a compromise of all, and at the express desire of a part, of the colonies themselves. It was therefore in some measure with their consent; and having a title directly purporting only a *commercial regulation*, and being in truth nothing more, the words

were passed by, at a time when no jealousy was entertained, and things were little scrutinized. Even Governor Bernard, in his second printed letter, dated in 1763, gives it as his opinion, that "it was an act of *prohibition*, not of revenue." This is certainly true ; that no act avowedly for the purpose of revenue, 5 and with the ordinary title and recital taken together, is found in the statute-book until the year I have mentioned ; that is the year 1764. All before this period stood on commercial regulation and restraint. The scheme of a colony revenue by British authority appeared therefore to the Americans in the light of 10 a great innovation ; the words of Governor Bernard's ninth letter, written in Nov. 1765, state this idea very strongly ; "it must," says he, "have been supposed, *such an innovation as a parliamentary taxation*, would cause a great *alarm*, and meet with much *opposition* in most parts of America ; it was *quite* 15 *new* to the people, and had no *visible bounds* set to it." After stating the weakness of government there, he says, "was this a time to introduce *so great a novelty* as a parliamentary inland taxation in America?" Whatever the right might have been, this mode of using it was absolutely new in policy and practice. 20

Sir, they who are friends to the schemes of American revenue say, that the commercial restraint is full as hard a law for America to live under. I think so too. I think it, if uncompensated, to be a condition of as rigorous servitude as men can be subject to. But America bore it from the fundamental Act 25 of Navigation until 1764. — Why? Because men do bear the inevitable constitution of their original nature with all its infirmities. The Act of Navigation attended the colonies from their infancy, grew with their growth, and strengthened with their strength. They were confirmed in obedience to it, even 30 more by usage than by law. They scarcely had remembered a time when they were not subject to such restraint. Besides, they were indemnified for it by a pecuniary compensation.

Their monopolist happened to be one of the richest men in the world. By his immense capital (primarily employed, not for their benefit, but his own), they were enabled to proceed with their fisheries, their agriculture, their ship-building (and their
5 trade too within the limits), in such a manner as got far the start of the slow languid operations of unassisted nature. This capital was a hot-bed to them. Nothing in the history of mankind is like their progress. For my part, I never cast an eye on their flourishing commerce, and their cultivated and com-
10 modious life, but they seem to me rather ancient nations grown to perfection through a long series of fortunate events, and a train of successful industry, accumulating wealth in many centuries, than the colonies of yesterday ; than a set of miserable outcasts, a few years ago, not so much sent as thrown out, on
15 the bleak and barren shore of a desolate wilderness three thousand miles from all civilized intercourse.

All this was done by England, whilst England pursued trade, and forgot revenue. You not only acquired commerce, but you actually created the very objects of trade in America ; and
20 by that creation you raised the trade of this kingdom at least fourfold. America had the compensation of your capital, which made her bear her servitude. She had another compensation, which you are now going to take away from her. She had, except the commercial restraint, every characteristic
25 mark of a free people in all her internal concerns. She had the image of the British constitution. She had the substance. She was taxed by her own representatives. She chose most of her own magistrates. She paid them all. She had in effect the sole disposal of her own internal government. This whole
30 state of commercial servitude and civil liberty, taken together, is certainly not perfect freedom ; but comparing it with the ordinary circumstances of human nature, it was a happy and a liberal condition.

I know, Sir, that great and not unsuccessful pains have been taken to inflame our minds by an outcry, in this House and out of it, that in America the Act of Navigation neither is, or ever was, obeyed. But if you take the colonies through, I affirm, that its authority never was disputed; that it was 5 nowhere disputed for any length of time; and, on the whole, that it was well observed. Wherever the act pressed hard, many individuals indeed evaded it. This is nothing. These scattered individuals never denied the law, and never obeyed it. Just as it happens whenever the laws of trade, whenever 10 the laws of revenue, press hard upon the people in England; in that case all your shores are full of contraband. Your right to give a monopoly to the East India Company, your right to lay immense duties on French brandy, are not disputed in England. You do not make this charge on any man. But you 15 know that there is not a creek from Pentland Frith to the Isle of Wight, in which they do not smuggle immense quantities of teas, East India goods, and brandies. I take it for granted, that the authority of Governor Bernard in this point is indisputable. Speaking of these laws, as they regarded that part of 20 America now in so unhappy a condition, he says, "I believe they are nowhere better supported than in this province; I do not pretend that it is entirely free from a breach of these laws; but that such a breach, if discovered, is justly punished." What more can you say of the obedience to any laws in any 25 country? An obedience to these laws formed the acknowledgment, instituted by yourselves, for your superiority; and was the payment you originally imposed for your protection.

Whether you were right or wrong in establishing the colonies on the principles of commercial monopoly, rather than on that 30 of revenue, is at this day a problem of mere speculation. You cannot have both by the same authority. To join together the restraints of an universal internal and external monopoly, with

an universal internal and external taxation, is an unnatural union ; perfect uncompensated slavery. You have long since decided for yourself and them ; and you and they have prospered exceedingly under that decision.

- 5 This nation, Sir, never thought of departing from that choice until the period immediately on the close of the last war. Then a scheme of government new in many things seemed to have been adopted. I saw, or I thought I saw, several symptoms of a great change, whilst I sat in your gallery, a good while before
10 I had the honor of a seat in this House. At that period the necessity was established of keeping up no less than twenty new regiments, with twenty colonels capable of seats in this House. This scheme was adopted with very general applause from all sides, at the very time that, by your conquests in
15 America, your danger from foreign attempts in that part of the world was much lessened, or indeed rather quite over. When this huge increase of military establishment was resolved on, a revenue was to be found to support so great a burden. Country gentlemen, the great patrons of economy, and the
20 great resisters of a standing armed force, would not have entered with much alacrity into the vote for so large and so expensive an army, if they had been very sure that they were to continue to pay for it. But hopes of another kind were held out to them ; and in particular, I well remember, that Mr.
25 Townshend, in a brilliant harangue on this subject, did dazzle them, by playing before their eyes the image of a revenue to be raised in America.

Here began to dawn the first glimmerings of this new colony system. It appeared more distinctly afterwards, when it was
30 devolved upon a person to whom, on other accounts, this country owes very great obligations. I do believe, that he had a very serious desire to benefit the public. But with no small study of the detail, he did not seem to have his view, at

least equally, carried to the total circuit of our affairs. He generally considered his objects in lights that were rather too detached. Whether the business of an American revenue was imposed upon him altogether ; whether it was entirely the result of his own speculation ; or, what is more probable, that his own ideas rather coincided with the instructions he had received ; certain it is, that, with the best intentions in the world, he first brought this fatal scheme into form, and established it by act of Parliament. 5

No man can believe, that at this time of day I mean to lean on the venerable memory of a great man, whose loss we deplore in common. Our little party differences have been long ago composed ; and I have acted more with him, and certainly with more pleasure with him, than ever I acted against him. Undoubtedly Mr. Grenville was a first-rate figure in this country. With a masculine understanding, and a stout and resolute heart, he had an application undissipated and unwearied. He took public business, not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure he was to enjoy ; and he seemed to have no delight out of this House, except in such things as some way related to the business that was to be done within it. If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain. It was to raise himself, not by the low, pimping politics of a court, but to win his way to power, through the laborious gradations of public service ; and to secure to himself a well-earned rank in Parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its constitution, and a perfect practice in all its business. 10 15 20 25

Sir, if such a man fell into errors, it must be from defects not intrinsic ; they must be rather sought in the particular habits of his life ; which, though they do not alter the groundwork of character, yet tinge it with their own hue. He was bred in a profession. He was bred to the law, which is, in my 30

opinion, one of the first and noblest of human sciences; a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt, except in persons very happily born, to open
5 and to liberalize the mind exactly in the same proportion. Passing from that study he did not go very largely into the world; but plunged into business; I mean into the business of office; and the limited and fixed methods and forms established there. Much knowledge is to be had undoubtedly in
10 that line; and there is no knowledge which is not valuable. But it may be truly said, that men too much conversant in office are rarely minds of remarkable enlargement. Their habits of office are apt to give them a turn to think the substance of business not to be much more important than the
15 forms in which it is conducted. These forms are adapted to ordinary occasions; and therefore persons who are nurtured in office do admirably well as long as things go on in their common order; but when the high roads are broken up, and the waters out, when a new and troubled scene is opened, and
20 the file affords no precedent, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind, and a far more extensive comprehension of things, is requisite, than ever office gave, or than office can ever give. Mr. Grenville thought better of the wisdom and power of human legislation than in truth it deserves. He conceived,
25 and many conceived along with him, that the flourishing trade of this country was greatly owing to law and institution, and not quite so much to liberty; for but too many are apt to believe regulation to be commerce, and taxes to be revenue. Among regulations, that which stood first in reputation was his
30 idol. I mean the Act of Navigation. He has often professed it to be so. The policy of that act is, I readily admit, in many respects well understood. But I do say, that if the act be suffered to run the full length of its principle, and is not

changed and modified according to the change of times and the fluctuation of circumstances, it must do great mischief, and frequently even defeat its own purpose.

After the war, and in the last years of it, the trade of America had increased far beyond the speculations of the most sanguine imagination. It swelled out on every side. It filled all its proper channels to the brim. It overflowed with a rich redundance, and breaking its banks on the right and on the left, it spread out upon some places where it was indeed improper, upon others where it was only irregular. It is the nature of all greatness not to be exact; and great trade will always be attended with considerable abuses. The contraband will always keep pace in some measure with the fair trade. It should stand as a fundamental maxim, that no vulgar precaution ought to be employed in the cure of evils, which are closely connected with the cause of our prosperity. Perhaps this great person turned his eye somewhat less than was just, towards the incredible increase of the fair trade; and looked with something of too exquisite a jealousy towards the contraband. He certainly felt a singular degree of anxiety on the subject; and even began to act from that passion earlier than is commonly imagined. For whilst he was First Lord of the Admiralty, though not strictly called upon in his official line, he presented a very strong memorial to the Lords of the Treasury (my Lord Bute was then at the head of the board), heavily complaining of the growth of the illicit commerce in America. Some mischief happened even at that time from this over-earnest zeal. Much greater happened afterwards, when it operated with greater power in the highest department of the finances. The bonds of the Act of Navigation were straitened so much, that America was on the point of having no trade, either contraband or legitimate. They found, under the construction and execution then used, the

act no longer tying but actually strangling them. All this coming with new enumerations of commodities ; with regulations which in a manner put a stop to the mutual coasting intercourse of the colonies ; with the appointment of courts
5 of admiralty under various improper circumstances ; with a sudden extinction of the paper currencies ; with a compulsory provision for the quartering of soldiers ; the people of America thought themselves proceeded against as delinquents, or, at best, as people under suspicion of delinquency ; and
10 in such a manner, as they imagined, their recent services in the war did not at all merit. Any of these innumerable regulations, perhaps, would not have alarmed alone ; some might be thought reasonable ; the multitude struck them with terror.

15 But the grand manœuvre in that business of new regulating the colonies, was the 15th act of the fourth of George III ; which, besides containing several of the matters to which I have just alluded, opened a new principle : and here properly began the second period of the policy of this country
20 with regard to the colonies ; by which the scheme of a regular plantation parliamentary revenue was adopted in theory, and settled in practice. A revenue not substituted in the place of, but superadded to, a monopoly ; which monopoly was enforced at the same time with additional strictness, and
25 the execution put into military hands.

This act, Sir, had for the first time the title of “granting duties in the colonies and plantations of America ;” and for the first time it was asserted in the preamble, “that it was *just* and *necessary* that a revenue should be raised there.” Then
30 came the technical words of “giving and granting ;” and thus a complete American revenue act was made in all the forms, and with a full avowal of the right, equity, policy, and even necessity of taxing the colonies, without any formal consent

of theirs. There are contained also in the preamble to that act these very remarkable words—the Commons, etc.—“being desirous to make *some* provision in the *present* session of Parliament *towards* raising the said revenue.” By these words it appeared to the colonies, that this act was but a beginning 5 of sorrows; that every session was to produce something of the same kind; that we were to go on from day to day, in charging them with such taxes as we pleased, for such a military force as we should think proper. Had this plan been pursued, it was evident that the provincial assemblies, in which 10 the Americans felt all their portion of importance, and beheld their sole image of freedom, were *ipso facto* annihilated. This ill prospect before them seemed to be boundless in extent, and endless in duration. Sir, they were not mistaken. The ministry valued themselves when this act passed, and when 15 they gave notice of the Stamp Act, that both of the duties came very short of their ideas of American taxation. Great was the applause of this measure here. In England we cried out for new taxes on America, whilst they cried out that they were nearly crushed with those which the war and their own 20 grants had brought upon them.

Sir, it has been said in the debate, that when the first American revenue act (the act in 1764, imposing the port duties) passed, the Americans did not object to the principle. It is true they touched it but very tenderly. It was not a 25 direct attack. They were, it is true, as yet novices; as yet unaccustomed to direct attacks upon any of the rights of Parliament. The duties were port duties, like those they had been accustomed to bear; with this difference, that the title was not the same, the preamble not the same, and the spirit 30 altogether unlike. But of what service is this observation to the cause of those that make it? It is a full refutation of the pretense for their present cruelty to America; for it shows,

out of their own mouths, that our colonies were backward to enter into the present vexatious and ruinous controversy.

There is also another circulation abroad, (spread with a malignant intention, which I cannot attribute to those who
5 say the same thing in this House) that Mr. Grenville gave the colony agents an option for their assemblies to tax themselves, which they had refused. I find that much stress is laid on this, as a fact. However, it happens neither to be true nor possible. I will observe first, that Mr. Grenville never thought
10 fit to make this apology for himself in the innumerable debates that were had upon the subject. He might have proposed to the colony agents, that they should agree in some *mode* of taxation as the ground of an act of Parliament. But he never could have proposed that they should tax themselves on requi-
15 sition, which is the assertion of the day. Indeed, Mr. Grenville well knew, that the colony agents could have no general powers to consent to it; and they had no time to consult their assemblies for particular powers, before he passed his first revenue act. If you compare dates, you will find it impossible. Bur-
20 dened as the agents knew the colonies were at that time, they could not give the least hope of such grants. His own favorite governor was of opinion that the Americans were not then taxable objects.

“Nor was the time less favorable to the *equity* of such a taxa-
25 tion. I don't mean to dispute the reasonableness of America contributing to the charges of Great Britain *when she is able*; nor, I believe, would the Americans themselves have disputed it, at a *proper time and season*. But it should be considered, that the American governments themselves have, in the prose-
30 cution of the late war, contracted very large debts; which it will take some years to pay off, and in the mean time occasion very *burdensome taxes for that purpose* only. For instance, this government, which is as much beforehand as any, raises every

year £37,500 sterling for sinking their debt, and must continue it for four years longer at least before it will be clear."

These are the words of Governor Bernard's letter to a member of the old ministry, and which he has since printed. Mr. Grenville could not have made this proposition to the agents, 5 for another reason. He was of opinion, which he has declared in this House an hundred times, that the colonies could not legally grant any revenue to the crown; and that infinite mischiefs would be the consequence of such a power. When Mr. Grenville had passed the first revenue act, and in the 10 same session had made this House come to a resolution for laying a stamp duty on America, between that time and the passing the Stamp Act into a law, he told a considerable and most respectable merchant, a member of this House, whom I am truly sorry I do not now see in his place, when he repre- 15 sented against this proceeding, that if the stamp duty was disliked, he was willing to exchange it for any other equally productive; but that, if he objected to the Americans being taxed by Parliament, he might save himself the trouble of the discussion, as he was determined on the measure. This is the 20 fact, and, if you please, I will mention a very unquestionable authority for it.

Thus, Sir, I have disposed of this falsehood. But falsehood has a perennial spring. It is said, that no conjecture could be made of the dislike of the colonies to the principle. This is as 25 untrue as the other. After the resolution of the House, and before the passing of the Stamp Act, the colonies of Massachusetts's Bay and New York did send remonstrances, objecting to this mode of parliamentary taxation. What was the consequence? They were suppressed; they were put under the 30 table; notwithstanding an order of council to the contrary, by the ministry which composed the very council that had made the order; and thus the House proceeded to its business of

taxing, without the least regular knowledge of the objections which were made to it. But to give that House its due, it was not over desirous to receive information, or to hear remonstrance. On the 15th of February, 1765, whilst the Stamp
5 Act was under deliberation, they refused with scorn even so much as to receive four petitions presented from so respectable colonies as Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, and Carolina ; besides one from the traders of Jamaica. As to the colonies, they had no alternative left to them, but to disobey ; or to pay
10 the taxes imposed by that Parliament which was not suffered, or did not suffer itself, even to hear them remonstrate upon the subject.

This was the state of the colonies before his Majesty thought fit to change his ministers. It stands upon no authority of mine.
15 It is proved by uncontrovertible records. The honorable gentleman has desired some of us to lay our hands upon our hearts, and answer to his queries upon the historical part of this consideration ; and by his manner (as well as my eyes could discern it) he seemed to address himself to me.

20 Sir, I will answer him as clearly as I am able, and with great openness ; I have nothing to conceal. In the year sixty-five, being in a very private station, far enough from any line of business, and not having the honor of a seat in this House, it was my fortune, unknowing and unknown to the then min-
25 istry, by the intervention of a common friend, to become connected with a very noble person, and at the head of the treasury department. It was indeed in a situation of little rank and no consequence, suitable to the mediocrity of my talents and pretensions. But a situation near enough to enable
30 me to see, as well as others, what was going on ; and I did see in that noble person such sound principles, such an enlargement of mind, such clear and sagacious sense, and such unshaken fortitude, as have bound me, as well as others much

better than me, by an inviolable attachment to him from that time forward. Sir, Lord Rockingham very early in that summer received a strong representation from many weighty English merchants and manufacturers, from governors of provinces and commanders of men of war, against almost the whole of the American commercial regulations: and particularly with regard to the total ruin which was threatened to the Spanish trade. I believe, Sir, the noble lord soon saw his way in this business. But he did not rashly determine against acts which it might be supposed were the result of much deliberation. 5
However, Sir, he scarcely began to open the ground, when the whole veteran body of office took the alarm. A violent outcry of all (except those who knew and felt the mischief) was raised against any alteration. On one hand, his attempt was a direct violation of treaties and public law. On the other, the Act of 15 Navigation and all the corps of trade laws were drawn up in array against it. 25

The first step the noble lord took, was to have the opinion of his excellent, learned, and ever lamented friend the late Mr. Yorke, then Attorney General, on the point of law. When 20 he knew that formally and officially, which in substance he had known before, he immediately dispatched orders to redress the grievance. But I will say it for the then minister, he is of that constitution of mind, that I know he would have issued, on the same critical occasion, the very same orders, if the acts of trade 25 had been, as they were not, directly against him; and would have cheerfully submitted to the equity of Parliament for his indemnity.

On the conclusion of this business of the Spanish trade, the news of the troubles, on account of the Stamp Act, arrived in 30 England. It was not until the end of October that these accounts were received. No sooner had the sound of that mighty tempest reached us in England, than the whole of the

then opposition, instead of feeling humbled by the unhappy issue of their measures, seemed to be infinitely elated, and cried out, that the ministry, from envy to the glory of their predecessors, were prepared to repeal the Stamp Act. Near
5 nine years after, the honorable gentleman takes quite opposite ground, and now challenges me to put my hand to my heart, and say, whether the ministry had resolved on the repeal till a considerable time after the meeting of Parliament. Though I do not very well know what the honorable gentleman wishes
10 to infer from the admission, or from the denial, of this fact, on which he so earnestly adjures me ; I do put my hand on my heart, and assure him, that they did *not* come to a resolution directly to repeal. They weighed this matter as its difficulty and importance required. They considered maturely among
15 themselves. They consulted with all who could give advice or information. It was not determined until a little before the meeting of Parliament ; but it was determined, and the main lines of their own plan marked out, before that meeting. Two questions arose (I hope I am not going into a narrative
20 troublesome to the House)

[A cry of, "Go on, go on."]

The first of the two considerations was, whether the repeal should be total, or whether only partial ; taking out everything burdensome and productive, and reserving only an empty
25 acknowledgment, such as a stamp on cards or dice. The other question was, on what principle the act should be repealed? On this head also two principles were started. One, that the legislative rights of this country, with regard to America, were not entire, but had certain restrictions and
30 limitations. The other principle was, that taxes of this kind were contrary to the fundamental principles of commerce on which the colonies were founded ; and contrary to every idea of political equity ; by which equity we are bound, as much as

possible to extend the spirit and benefit of the British constitution to every part of the British dominions. The option, both of the measure, and of the principle of repeal, was made before the session ; and I wonder how any one can read the King's speech at the opening of that session, without seeing in that speech both the repeal and the Declaratory Act very sufficiently crayoned out. Those who cannot see this can see nothing. 5

Surely the honorable gentleman will not think that a great deal less time than was then employed, ought to have been spent in deliberation, when he considers that the news of the troubles did not arrive till towards the end of October. The Parliament sat to fill the vacancies on the 14th day of December, and on business the 14th of the following January. 15

Sir, a partial repeal, or, as the *bon ton* of the court then was, a *modification*, would have satisfied a timid, unsystematic, procrastinating ministry, as such a measure has since done such a ministry. A modification is the constant resource of weak, undeciding minds. To repeal by a denial of our right to tax in the preamble (and this too did not want advisers), would have cut, in the heroic style, the Gordian knot with a sword. Either measure would have cost no more than a day's debate. But when the total repeal was adopted ; and adopted on principles of policy, of equity, and of commerce ; this plan made it necessary to enter into many and difficult measures. It became necessary to open a very large field of evidence commensurate to these extensive views. But then this labor did knight's service. It opened the eyes of several to the true state of the American affairs ; it enlarged their ideas ; it removed prejudices ; and it conciliated the opinions and affections of men. The noble lord, who then took the lead in administration, my honorable friend under me, and a right 20 25 30

honorable gentleman (if he will not reject his share, and it was a large one, of this business) exerted the most laudable industry in bringing before you the fullest, most impartial, and least garbled body of evidence that ever was produced to this
5 House. I think the inquiry lasted in the committee for six weeks; and at its conclusion this House, by an independent, noble, spirited, and unexpected majority; by a majority that will redeem all the acts ever done by majorities in Parliament; in the teeth of all the old mercenary Swiss of state, in despite
10 of all the speculators and augurs of political events, in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran pensioners and practised instruments of a court, gave a total repeal to the Stamp Act, and (if it had been so permitted) a lasting peace to this whole empire.

15 I state, Sir, these particulars, because this act of spirit and fortitude has lately been, in the circulation of the season, and in some hazarded declamations in this House, attributed to timidity. If, Sir, the conduct of ministry, in proposing the repeal, had arisen from timidity with regard to themselves, it
20 would have been greatly to be condemned. Interested timidity disgraces as much in the cabinet, as personal timidity does in the field. But timidity, with regard to the well-being of our country, is heroic virtue. The noble lord who then conducted affairs, and his worthy colleagues, whilst they trembled at the
25 prospect of such distresses as you have since brought upon yourselves, were not afraid steadily to look in the face that glaring and dazzling influence at which the eyes of eagles have blenched. He looked in the face one of the ablest, and, let me say, not the most scrupulous oppositions, that perhaps
30 ever was in this House, and withstood it, unaided by even one of the usual supports of administration. He did this when he repealed the Stamp Act. He looked in the face a person he had long respected and regarded, and whose aid was then

particularly wanting ; I mean Lord Chatham. He did this when he passed the Declaratory Act.

It is now given out, for the usual purposes, by the usual emissaries, that Lord Rockingham did not consent to the repeal of this act until he was bullied into it by Lord Chatham ; and the reporters have gone so far as publicly to assert, in an hundred companies, that the honorable gentleman under the gallery, who proposed the repeal in the American committee, had another set of resolutions in his pocket directly the reverse of those he moved. These artifices of a desperate cause are at this time spread abroad, with incredible care, in every part of the town, from the highest to the lowest companies ; as if the industry of the circulation were to make amends for the absurdity of the report.

Sir, whether the noble lord is of a complexion to be bullied by Lord Chatham, or by any man, I must submit to those who know him. I confess, when I look back to that time, I consider him as placed in one of the most trying situations in which, perhaps, any man ever stood. In the House of Peers there were very few of the ministry, out of the noble lord's own particular connection (except Lord Egmont, who acted, as far as I could discern, an honorable and manly part), that did not look to some other future arrangement, which warped his politics. There were in both Houses new and menacing appearances, that might very naturally drive any other, than a most resolute minister, from his measure, or from his station. The household troops openly revolted. The allies of ministry (those, I mean, who supported some of their measures, but refused responsibility for any) endeavored to undermine their credit, and to take ground that must be fatal to the success of the very cause which they would be thought to countenance. The question of the repeal was brought on by ministry in the committee of this House, in the very instant when it was

known that more than one court negotiation was carrying on with the heads of the opposition. Everything, upon every side, was full of traps and mines. Earth below shook ; heaven above menaced ; all the elements of ministerial safety were dissolved. It was in the midst of this chaos of plots and counterplots ; it was in the midst of this complicated warfare against public opposition and private treachery, that the firmness of that noble person was put to the proof. He never stirred from his ground ; no, not an inch. He remained fixed and determined, in principle, in measure, and in conduct. He practised no managements. He secured no retreat. He sought no apology.

I will likewise do justice, I ought to do it, to the honorable gentleman who led us in this House. Far from the duplicity wickedly charged on him, he acted his part with alacrity and resolution. We all felt inspired by the example he gave us, down even to myself, the weakest in that phalanx. I declare for one, I knew well enough (it could not be concealed from anybody) the true state of things ; but, in my life, I never came with so much spirits into this House. It was a time for a *man* to act in. We had powerful enemies ; but we had faithful and determined friends ; and a glorious cause. We had a great battle to fight ; but we had the means of fighting ; not as now, when our arms are tied behind us. We did fight that day and conquer.

I remember, Sir, with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the honorable gentleman who made the motion for the repeal ; in that crisis, when the whole trading interest of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited, almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from your resolutions. When, at length, you had determined in their favor, and your doors, thrown open, showed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned

triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jumped upon him like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America joined in his applause. 5 Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. *Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest.* I stood near him; and his face, to use the expression of the Scripture of the first martyr, "his face was as if it had been the face of an angel." I do not 10 know how others feel; but if I had stood in that situation, I never would have exchanged it for all that kings in their profusion could bestow. I did hope that that day's danger and honor would have been a bond to hold us all together for ever. But, alas! that, with other pleasing visions, is long since 15 vanished.

Sir, this act of supreme magnanimity has been represented, as if it had been a measure of an administration, that, having no scheme of their own, took a middle line, pilfered a bit from one side and a bit from the other. Sir, they took *no* middle 20 lines. They differed fundamentally from the schemes of both parties; but they preserved the objects of both. They preserved the authority of Great Britain. They preserved the equity of Great Britain. They made the Declaratory Act; they repealed the Stamp Act. They did both *fully*; because 25 the Declaratory Act was *without qualification*; and the repeal of the Stamp Act *total*. This they did in the situation I have described.

Now, Sir, what will the adversary say to both these acts? If the principle of the Declaratory Act was not good, the 30 principle we are contending for this day is monstrous. If the principle of the repeal was not good, why are we not at war for a real, substantial, effective revenue? If both were bad,

why has this ministry incurred all the inconveniences of both and of all schemes? Why have they enacted, repealed, enforced, yielded, and now attempt to enforce again?

Sir, I think I may as well now, as at any other time, speak
5 to a certain matter of fact not wholly unrelated to the question under your consideration. We, who would persuade you to revert to the ancient policy of this kingdom, labor under the effect of this short current phrase, which the court leaders have given out to all their corps, in order to take away the credit
10 of those who would prevent you from that frantic war you are going to wage upon your colonies. Their cant is this; "All the disturbances in America have been created by the repeal of the Stamp Act." I suppress for a moment my indignation at the falsehood, baseness, and absurdity of this most audacious
15 assertion. Instead of remarking on the motives and character of those who have issued it for circulation, I will clearly lay before you the state of America, antecedently to that repeal; after the repeal; and since the renewal of the schemes of American taxation.

20 It is said, that the disturbances, if there were any, before the repeal, were slight; and without difficulty or inconvenience might have been suppressed. For an answer to this assertion I will send you to the great author and patron of the Stamp Act, who certainly meaning well to the authority of
25 this country, and fully apprized of the state of that, made, before a repeal was so much as agitated in this House, the motion which is on your journals; and which, to save the clerk the trouble of turning to it, I will now read to you. It was for an amendment to the address of the 17th of December,
30 1765:

"To express our just resentment and indignation at the *out-rageous tumults and insurrections* which have been excited and carried on in North America; and at the resistance given by

open and rebellious force to the execution of the laws in that part of his Majesty's dominions. And to assure his Majesty, that his faithful Commons, animated with the warmest duty and attachment to his royal person and government, will firmly and effectually support his Majesty in all such measures as shall 5 be necessary for preserving and supporting the legal dependence of the colonies on the mother country," etc., etc.

Here was certainly a disturbance preceding the repeal; such a disturbance as Mr. Grenville thought necessary to qualify by the name of an *insurrection*, and the epithet of a 10 *rebellious* force: terms much stronger than any, by which those who then supported his motion, have ever since thought proper to distinguish the subsequent disturbances in America. They were disturbances which seemed to him and his friends to justify as strong a promise of support, as hath been usual to 15 give in the beginning of a war with the most powerful and declared enemies. When the accounts of the American governors came before the House, they appeared stronger even than the warmth of public imagination had painted them; so much stronger, that the papers on your table bear me out in saying, 20 that all the late disturbances, which have been at one time the minister's motives for the repeal of five out of six of the new court taxes, and are now his pretenses for refusing to repeal that sixth, did not amount — why do I compare them? — no, not to a tenth part of the tumults and violence which prevailed 25 long before the repeal of that act.

Ministry cannot refuse the authority of the commander-in-chief, General Gage, who, in his letter of the 4th of November, from New York, thus represents the state of things:

"It is difficult to say, from the *highest to the lowest*, who has 30 not been *accessory* to this *insurrection*, either by writing or *mutual agreements* to oppose the act, by what they are pleased to term all legal opposition to it. Nothing effectual has been

proposed either to prevent or quell the tumult. *The rest of the provinces are in the same situation* as to a positive refusal to take the stamps; and threatening those who shall take them, *to plunder and murder them*; and this affair stands *in all the* 5 *provinces*, that unless the act, from its own nature, enforce itself, nothing but a *very* considerable military force can do it."

It is remarkable, Sir, that the persons who formerly trumpeted forth the most loudly, the violent resolutions of assemblies; the universal insurrections; the seizing and burning the 10 stamped papers; the forcing stamp officers to resign their commissions under the gallows; the rifling and pulling down of the houses of magistrates; and the expulsion from their country of all who dared to write or speak a single word in defense of the powers of Parliament; these very trumpeters 15 are now the men that represent the whole as a mere trifle; and choose to date all the disturbances from the repeal of the Stamp Act, which put an end to them. Hear your officers abroad, and let them refute this shameless falsehood, who, in all their correspondence, state the disturbances as owing to 20 their true causes, the discontent of the people, from the taxes. You have this evidence in your own archives—and it will give you complete satisfaction; if you are not so far lost to all parliamentary ideas of information, as rather to credit the lie of the day, than the record of your own House.

25 Sir, this vermin of court reporters, when they are forced into day upon one point, are sure to burrow in another; but they shall have no refuge: I will make them bolt out of all their holes. Conscious that they must be baffled, when they attribute a precedent disturbance to a subsequent measure, 30 they take other ground almost as absurd, but very common in modern practice, and very wicked; which is, to attribute the ill effect of ill-judged conduct to the arguments which had been used to dissuade us from it. They say, that the opposition

made in Parliament to the Stamp Act at the time of its passing, encouraged the Americans to their resistance. This has even formally appeared in print in a regular volume, from an advocate of that faction, a Dr. Tucker. This Dr. Tucker is already a dean, and his earnest labors in this vineyard will, I suppose, raise him to a bishopric. But this assertion too, just like the rest, is false. In all the papers which have loaded your table; in all the vast crowd of verbal witnesses that appeared at your bar, witnesses which were indiscriminately produced from both sides of the House; not the least hint of such a cause of disturbance has ever appeared. As to the fact of a strenuous opposition to the Stamp Act, I sat as a stranger in your gallery when the act was under consideration. Far from anything inflammatory, I never heard a more languid debate in this House. No more than two or three gentlemen, as I remember, spoke against the act, and that with great reserve and remarkable temper. There was but one division in the whole progress of the bill; and the minority did not reach to more than 39 or 40. In the House of Lords I do not recollect that there was any debate or division at all. I am sure there was no protest. In fact, the affair passed with so very, very little noise, that in town they scarcely knew the nature of what you were doing. The opposition to the bill in England never could have done this mischief, because there scarcely ever was less of opposition to a bill of consequence.

Sir, the agents and distributors of falsehoods have, with their usual industry, circulated another lie of the same nature with the former. It is this, that the disturbances arose from the account which had been received in America of the change in the ministry. No longer awed, it seems, with the spirit of the former rulers, they thought themselves a match for what our calumniators choose to qualify by the name of so feeble a ministry as succeeded. Feeble in one sense these men certainly

may be called ; for with all their efforts, and they have made many, they have not been able to resist the distempered vigor, and insane alacrity with which you are rushing to your ruin. But it does so happen, that the falsity of this circulation is (like
5 the rest) demonstrated by indisputable dates and records.

So little was the change known in America, that the letters of your governors, giving an account of these disturbances long after they had arrived at their highest pitch, were all directed to the *old ministry*, and particularly to the *Earl of*
10 *Halifax*, the Secretary of State corresponding with the colonies, without once in the smallest degree intimating the slightest suspicion of any ministerial revolution whatsoever. The ministry was not changed in England until the tenth day of July, 1765. On the 14th of the preceding June, Governor
15 Fauquier from Virginia writes thus ; and writes thus to the Earl of Halifax :

“Government is set at *defiance*, not having strength enough in her hands to enforce obedience to the laws of the community. . . . The private distress, which every man feels,
20 increases the *general dissatisfaction* at the duties laid by the *Stamp Act*, which breaks out, and shows itself upon every trifling occasion.”

The general dissatisfaction had produced some time before, that is, on the 29th of May, several strong public resolves
25 against the Stamp Act ; and those resolves are assigned by Governor Bernard, as the cause of the *insurrections* in Massachusetts Bay, in his letter of the 15th of August, still addressed to the Earl of Halifax ; and he continued to address such accounts to that minister quite to the 7th of September of the
30 same year. Similar accounts, and of as late a date, were sent from other governors, and all directed to Lord Halifax. Not one of these letters indicates the slightest idea of a change, either known, or even apprehended.

Thus are blown away the insect race of courtly falsehoods ! thus perish the miserable inventions of the wretched runners for a wretched cause, which they have fly-blown into every weak and rotten part of the country, in vain hopes that when their maggots had taken wing, their importunate buzzing might sound something like the public voice ! 5

Sir, I have troubled you sufficiently with the state of America before the repeal. Now I turn to the honorable gentleman who so stoutly challenges us, to tell, whether, after the repeal, the provinces were quiet? This is coming home to the point. Here I meet him directly ; and answer most readily, *They were quiet*. And I, in my turn, challenge him to prove when, and where, and by whom, and in what numbers, and with what violence, the other laws of trade, as gentlemen assert, were violated in consequence of your concession? or that even your other revenue laws were attacked? But I quit the vantage ground on which I stand, and where I might leave the burden of the proof upon him ; I walk down upon the open plain, and undertake to show, that they were not only quiet, but showed many unequivocal marks of acknowledgment and gratitude. And to give him every advantage, I select the obnoxious colony of Massachuset's Bay, which at this time (but without hearing her) is so heavily a culprit before Parliament — I will select their proceedings even under circumstances of no small irritation. For, a little imprudently, I must say, Governor Bernard mixed in the administration of the lenitive of the repeal no small acrimony arising from matters of a separate nature. Yet see, Sir, the effect of that lenitive, though mixed with these bitter ingredients ; and how this rugged people can express themselves on a measure of concession. 15 20 25 30

“ If it is not now in our power ” (say they in their address to Governor Bernard) “ in so full a manner as will be expected, to show our respectful gratitude to the mother country, or to

make a dutiful and affectionate return to the indulgence of the King and Parliament, it shall be no fault of ours ; for this we intend, and hope we shall be able fully to effect."

Would to God that this temper had been cultivated, managed, and set in action ! other effects than those which we have since felt would have resulted from it. On the requisition for compensation to those who had suffered from the violence of the populace, in the same address they say,

"The recommendation enjoined by Mr. Secretary Conway's letter, and in consequence thereof made to us, we will embrace the first convenient opportunity to consider and act upon."

They did consider ; they did act upon it. They obeyed the requisition. I know the mode has been chicaned upon ; but it was substantially obeyed ; and much better obeyed, than I fear the parliamentary requisition of this session will be, though enforced by all your rigor, and backed with all your power. In a word, the damages of popular fury were compensated by legislative gravity. Almost every other part of America in various ways demonstrated their gratitude. I am bold to say, that so sudden a calm recovered after so violent a storm is without parallel in history. To say that no other disturbance should happen from any other cause is folly. But as far as appearances went, by the judicious sacrifice of one law, you procured an acquiescence in all that remained. After this experience, nobody shall persuade me, when a whole people are concerned, that acts of lenity are not means of conciliation.

I hope the honorable gentleman has received a fair and full answer to his question.

I have done with the third period of your policy ; that of your repeal ; and the return of your ancient system, and your ancient tranquillity and concord. Sir, this period was not as

long as it was happy. Another scene was opened, and other actors appeared on the stage. The state, in the condition I have described it, was delivered into the hands of Lord Chatham—a great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country respectable in every other on the globe. It may be truly called, 5

— Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.

Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his superior eloquence, his splendid qualities, his eminent services, the vast space he fills in the eye of mankind; and, more than all the rest, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and sanctifies a great character, will not suffer me to censure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am sure I am not disposed to blame him. Let those who have betrayed him by their adulation, insult him with their malevolence. But what I do not presume to censure, I may have leave to lament. For a wise man, he seemed to me at that time, to be governed too much by general maxims. I speak with the freedom of history, and I hope without offense. One or two of these maxims, flowing from an opinion not the most indulgent to our unhappy species, and surely a little too general, led him into measures that were greatly mischievous to himself; and for that reason, among others, perhaps fatal to his country; measures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable. He made an administration, so checkered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery, so crossly indented and whimsically dove-tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tessellated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, King's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and 10 15 20 25 30

open enemies : that it was indeed a very curious show ; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards, stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, "Sir, your name? — Sir, 5 you have the advantage of me — Mr. Such-a-one — I beg a thousand pardons —" I venture to say, it did so happen, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoke to each other in their lives ; until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, 10 in the same truckle-bed.

Sir, in consequence of this arrangement, having put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such, that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever 15 he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a 20 minister.

When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who, with the names of various departments of ministry, were admitted to seem as if they acted a 25 part under him, with a modesty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him, which was justified even in its extravagance by his superior abilities, had never, in any instance, presumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the sport of 30 every gust, and easily driven into any port ; and as those who joined with them in manning the vessel were the most directly opposite to his opinions, measures, and character, and far the most artful and most powerful of the set, they easily prevailed,

so as to seize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and instantly they turned the vessel wholly out of the course of his policy. As if it were to insult as well as to betray him, even long before the close of the first session of his administration, when everything was publicly transacted, 5 and with great parade, in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, Sir, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens 10 arose another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the ascendant.

This light too is past and set for ever. You understand, to be sure, that I speak of Charles Townshend, officially the reproducer of this fatal scheme; whom I cannot even now 15 remember without some degree of sensibility. In truth, Sir, he was the delight and ornament of this House, and the charm of every private society which he honored with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor in any country, a man of a more pointed and finished wit; and (where his 20 passions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not so great a stock, as some have had who flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far, than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together within a short time, all 25 that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate that side of the question he supported. He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully. He particularly excelled in a most luminous explanation, and display of his subject. His style of argument was neither trite and vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse. 30 He hit the House just between wind and water.—And not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter in question, he was never more tedious, or more earnest, than the

preconceived opinions and present temper of his hearers required ; to whom he was always in perfect unison. He conformed exactly to the temper of the House ; and he seemed to guide, because he was always sure to follow it.

- 5 I beg pardon, Sir, if when I speak of this and of other great men, I appear to digress in saying something of their characters. In this eventful history of the revolutions of America, the characters of such men are of much importance. Great men are the guide-posts and land-marks in the state. The
10 credit of such men at court, or in the nation, is the sole cause of all the public measures. It would be an invidious thing (most foreign, I trust, to what you think my disposition) to remark the errors into which the authority of great names has brought the nation, without doing justice at the same time
15 to the great qualities, whence that authority arose. The subject is instructive to those who wish to form themselves on whatever of excellence has gone before them. There are many young members in the House (such of late has been the rapid succession of public men) who never saw that
20 prodigy, Charles Townshend ; nor of course know what a ferment he was able to excite in everything by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings. For failings he had undoubtedly — many of us remember them ; we are this day considering the effect of them. But he had no failings which
25 were not owing to a noble cause ; to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate passion for fame ; a passion which is the instinct of all great souls. He worshiped that goddess where-soever she appeared ; but he paid his particular devotions to her in her favorite habitation, in her chosen temple, the House
30 of Commons. Besides the characters of the individuals that compose our body, it is impossible, Mr. Speaker, not to observe, that this House has a collective character of its own. That character too, however imperfect, is not unamiable. Like all

great public collections of men, you possess a marked love of virtue, and an abhorrence of vice. But among vices, there is none which the House abhors in the same degree with *obstinacy*. Obstinacy, Sir, is certainly a great vice; and in the changeful state of political affairs it is frequently the cause of great mischief. It happens, however, very unfortunately, that almost the whole line of the great and masculine virtues, constancy, gravity, magnanimity, fortitude, fidelity, and firmness, are closely allied to this disagreeable quality, of which you have so just an abhorrence; and in their excess, all these virtues very easily fall into it. He, who paid such a punctilious attention to all your feelings, certainly took care not to shock them by that vice which is the most disgusting to you.

That fear of displeasing those who ought most to be pleased, betrayed him sometimes into the other extreme. He had voted, and in the year 1765, had been an advocate for the Stamp Act. Things and the disposition of men's minds were changed. In short, the Stamp Act began to be no favorite in this House. He therefore attended at the private meeting, in which the resolutions moved by a right honorable gentleman were settled; resolutions leading to the repeal. The next day he voted for that repeal; and he would have spoken for it too, if an illness (not as was then given out a political, but to my knowledge, a very real illness) had not prevented it.

The very next session, as the fashion of this world passeth away, the repeal began to be in as bad an odor in this House as the Stamp Act had been in the session before. To conform to the temper which began to prevail, and to prevail mostly amongst those most in power, he declared, very early in the winter, that a revenue must be had out of America. Instantly he was tied down to his engagements by some, who had no objection to such experiments, when made at the cost of persons for whom they had no particular regard. The whole

body of courtiers drove him onward. They always talked as if the King stood in a sort of humiliated state, until something of the kind should be done.

Here this extraordinary man, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, found himself in great straits. To please universally was the object of his life ; but to tax and to please, no more than to love and to be wise, is not given to men. However he attempted it. To render the tax palatable to the partisans of American revenue, he made a preamble stating the necessity
10 of such a revenue. To close with the American distinction, this revenue was *external* or port-duty ; but again, to soften it to the other party, it was a duty of *supply*. To gratify the *colonists*, it was laid on British manufactures ; to satisfy the *merchants of Britain*, the duty was trivial, and (except that
15 on tea, which touched only the devoted East India Company) on none of the grand objects of commerce. To counterwork the American contraband, the duty on tea was reduced from a shilling to threepence. But to secure the favor of those who would tax America, the scene of collection was changed,
20 and, with the rest, it was levied in the colonies. What need I say more? This fine-spun scheme had the usual fate of all exquisite policy. But the original plan of the duties, and the mode of executing that plan, both arose singly and solely from a love of our applause. He was truly the child of the House.
25 He never thought, did, or said anything, but with a view to you. He every day adapted himself to your disposition ; and adjusted himself before it, as at a looking-glass.

He had observed (indeed it could not escape him) that several persons, infinitely his inferiors in all respects, had
30 formerly rendered themselves considerable in this House by one method alone. They were a race of men (I hope in God the species is extinct) who, when they rose in their place, no man living could divine, from any known adherence to parties,

to opinions, or to principles ; from any order or system in their politics ; or from any sequel or connection in their ideas, what part they were going to take in any debate. It is astonishing how much this uncertainty, especially at critical times, called the attention of all parties on such men. All eyes were fixed 5 on them, all ears open to hear them ; each party gaped, and looked alternately for their vote, almost to the end of their speeches. While the House hung in this uncertainty, now the *Hear-hims* rose from this side — now they rebelled from the other ; and that party to whom they fell at length from 10 their tremulous and dancing balance, always received them in a tempest of applause. The fortune of such men was a temptation too great to be resisted by one, to whom, a single whiff of incense withheld gave much greater pain, than he received delight in the clouds of it, which daily rose about him from the 15 prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers. He was a candidate for contradictory honors ; and his great aim was to make those agree in admiration of him who never agreed in anything else.

Hence arose this unfortunate act, the subject of this day's 20 debate ; from a disposition which, after making an American revenue to please one, repealed it to please others, and again revived it in hopes of pleasing a third, and of catching something in the ideas of all.

This revenue act of 1767 formed the fourth period of 25 American policy. How we have fared since then—what woeful variety of schemes have been adopted ; what enforcing, and what repealing ; what bullying, and what submitting ; what doing, and undoing ; what straining, and what relaxing ; what assemblies dissolved for not obeying, and called again without 30 obedience ; what troops sent out to quell resistance, and on meeting that resistance, recalled ; what shiftings, and changes, and jumbings of all kinds of men at home, which left no

possibility of order, consistency, vigor, or even so much as a decent unity of color in any one public measure.— It is a tedious, irksome task. My duty may call me to open it out some other time ; on a former occasion I tried your temper on
5 a part of it ; for the present I shall forbear.

After all these changes and agitations, your immediate situation upon the question on your paper is at length brought to this. You have an act of Parliament, stating, that “ it is *expedient* to raise a revenue in America.” By a partial repeal you
10 annihilated the greatest part of that revenue, which this preamble declares to be so expedient. You have substituted no other in the place of it. A Secretary of State has disclaimed, in the King’s name, all thoughts of such a substitution in future. The principle of this disclaimer goes to what has been
15 left, as well as what has been repealed. The tax which lingers after its companions (under a preamble declaring an American revenue expedient, and for the sole purpose of supporting the theory of that preamble) militates with the assurance authentically conveyed to the colonies ; and is an exhaustless source
20 of jealousy and animosity. On this state, which I take to be a fair one ; not being able to discern any grounds of honor, advantage, peace, or power, for adhering, either to the act or to the preamble, I shall vote for the question which leads to the repeal of both.

25 If you do not fall in with this motion, then secure something to fight for, consistent in theory and valuable in practice. If you must employ your strength, employ it to uphold you in some honorable right, or some profitable wrong. If you are apprehensive that the concession recommended to you, though
30 proper, should be a means of drawing on you further but unreasonable claims, — why then employ your force in supporting that reasonable concession against those unreasonable demands. You will employ it with more grace ; with better

effect ; and with great probable concurrence of all the quiet and rational people in the provinces ; who are now united with, and hurried away by, the violent ; having indeed different dispositions, but a common interest. If you apprehend that on a concession you shall be pushed by metaphysical process to the extreme lines, and argued out of your whole authority, my advice is this ; when you have recovered your old, your strong, your tenable position, then face about — stop short — do nothing more — reason not at all — oppose the ancient policy and practice of the empire, as a rampart against the speculations of innovators on both sides of the question ; and you will stand on great, manly, and sure ground. On this solid basis fix your machines, and they will draw worlds towards you.

Your ministers, in their own and his Majesty's name, have already adopted the American distinction of internal and external duties. It is a distinction, whatever merit it may have, that was originally moved by the Americans themselves ; and I think they will acquiesce in it, if they are not pushed with too much logic and too little sense, in all the consequences. That is, if external taxation be understood, as they and you understand it, when you please, to be not a distinction of geography, but of policy ; that it is a power for regulating trade, and not for supporting establishments. The distinction, which is as nothing with regard to right, is of most weighty consideration in practice. Recover your old ground, and your old tranquillity — try it — I am persuaded the Americans will compromise with you. When confidence is once restored, the odious and suspicious *summum jus* will perish of course. The spirit of practicability, of moderation, and mutual convenience, will never call in geometrical exactness as the arbitrator of an amicable settlement. Consult and follow your experience. Let not the long story with

which I have exercised your patience, prove fruitless to your interests.

For my part, I should choose (if I could have my wish) that the proposition of the honorable gentleman for the repeal
5 could go to America without the attendance of the penal bills. Alone I could almost answer for its success. I cannot be certain of its reception in the bad company it may keep. In such heterogeneous assortments, the most innocent person will lose the effect of his innocency. Though you should send out
10 this angel of peace, yet you are sending out a destroying angel too; and what would be the effect of the conflict of these two adverse spirits, or which would predominate in the end, is what I dare not say: whether the lenient measures would cause American passion to subside, or the severe would increase its
15 fury — all this is in the hand of Providence; yet now, even now, I should confide in the prevailing virtue, and efficacious operation of lenity, though working in darkness, and in chaos, in the midst of all this unnatural and turbid combination. I should hope it might produce order and beauty in the end.

20 Let us, Sir, embrace some system or other before we end this session. Do you mean to tax America, and to draw a productive revenue from thence? If you do, speak out: name, fix, ascertain this revenue; settle its quantity; define its objects; provide for its collection; and then fight when you have some-
25 thing to fight for. If you murder — rob! If you kill, take possession; and do not appear in the character of madmen, as well as assassins, violent, vindictive, bloody, and tyrannical, without an object. But may better counsels guide you!

Again, and again, revert to your old principles — seek
30 peace and ensue it — leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself. I am not here going into the distinctions of rights, not attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions; I hate the

very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it. They, and we, and their and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all actions, in contradiction to that good old mode, on both sides, be extinguished for ever. Be content to bind America by laws of trade ; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burden them by taxes ; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools ; for there only they may be discussed with safety. But if, intemperately, unwisely, fatally, you sophisticate and poison the very source of government, by urging subtle deductions, and consequences odious to those you govern, from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty, you will teach them by these means to call that sovereignty itself in question. When you drive him hard, the boar will surely turn upon the hunters. If that sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, which will they take ? They will cast your sovereignty in your face. Nobody will be argued into slavery. Sir, let the gentlemen on the other side call forth all their ability ; let the best of them get up, and tell me, what one character of liberty the Americans have, and what one brand of slavery they are free from, if they are bound in their property and industry, by all the restraints you can imagine on commerce, and at the same time are made pack-horses of every tax you choose to impose, without the least share in granting them ? When they bear the burdens of unlimited monopoly, will you bring them to bear the burdens of unlimited revenue too ? The Englishman in America will feel that this is slavery — that it is *legal* slavery, will be no compensation, either to his feelings or his understanding.

A noble lord, who spoke some time ago, is full of the fire of ingenuous youth ; and when he has modeled the ideas of a lively imagination by further experience, he will be an ornament to his country in either House. He has said, that the
5 Americans are our children ; and how can they revolt against their parent ? He says, that if they are not free in their present state, England is not free ; because Manchester, and other considerable places, are not represented. So then, because some towns in England are not represented, America is to
10 have no representative at all. They are "our children" ; but when children ask for bread, we are not to give a stone. Is it because the natural resistance of things, and the various mutations of time, hinders our government, or any scheme of government, from being any more than a sort of approximation
15 to the right, is it therefore that the colonies are to recede from it infinitely ? When this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent, and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beauteous countenance of British liberty ; are we to turn to them the shameful parts of our constitution ? are we to
20 give them our weakness for their strength ; our opprobrium for their glory ; and the slough of slavery, which we are not able to work off, to serve them for their freedom ?

If this be the case, ask yourselves this question, Will they be content in such a state of slavery ? If not, look to the
25 consequences. Reflect how you are to govern a people, who think they ought to be free, and think they are not. Your scheme yields no revenue ; it yields nothing but discontent, disorder, disobedience ; and such is the state of America, that after wading up to your eyes in blood, you
30 could only end just where you begun ; that is, to tax where no revenue is to be found, to — my voice fails me ; my inclination indeed carries me no further — all is confusion beyond it.

Well, Sir, I have recovered a little, and before I sit down I must say something to another point with which gentlemen urge us. What is to become of the Declaratory Act asserting the entireness of British legislative authority, if we abandon the practice of taxation?

5

For my part I look upon the rights stated in that act, exactly in the manner in which I viewed them on its very first proposition, and which I have often taken the liberty, with great humility, to lay before you. I look, I say, on the imperial rights of Great Britain, and the privileges which the colo- 10 nists ought to enjoy under these rights, to be just the most reconcilable things in the world. The Parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extensive empire in two capacities: one as the local legislature of this island, providing for all things at home, immediately, and by no other instrument 15 than the executive power. —The other, and I think her nobler capacity, is what I call her *imperial character*; in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any. As all these provincial legislatures are only 20 coördinate to each other, they ought all to be subordinate to her; else they can neither preserve mutual peace, nor hope for mutual justice, nor effectually afford mutual assistance. It is necessary to coerce the negligent, to restrain the violent, and to aid the weak and deficient, by the over-ruling plenitude of 25 her power. She is never to intrude into the place of the others, whilst they are equal to the common ends of their institution. But in order to enable Parliament to answer all these ends of provident and beneficent superintendence, her powers must be boundless. The gentlemen who think the powers of Parliament 30 limited, may please themselves to talk of requisitions. But suppose the requisitions are not obeyed? What! Shall there be no reserved power in the empire, to supply a deficiency which

may weaken, divide, and dissipate the whole? We are engaged in war—the Secretary of State calls upon the colonies to contribute—some would do it, I think most would cheerfully furnish whatever is demanded—one or two, suppose, hang back, 5 and, easing themselves, let the stress of the draft lie on the others—surely it is proper, that some authority might legally say—“Tax yourselves for the common supply, or Parliament will do it for you.” This backwardness was, as I am told, actually the case of Pennsylvania for some short time towards the begin- 10 ning of the last war, owing to some internal dissensions in the colony. But whether the fact were so, or otherwise, the case is equally to be provided for by a competent sovereign power. But then this ought to be no ordinary power; nor ever used in the first instance. This is what I meant, when I have said at 15 various times, that I consider the power of taxing in Parliament as an instrument of empire, and not as a means of supply.

Such, Sir, is my idea of the constitution of the British empire, as distinguished from the constitution of Britain; and on these grounds I think subordination and liberty may be sufficiently 20 reconciled through the whole; whether to serve a refining speculatist, or a factious demagogue, I know not; but enough surely for the ease and happiness of man.

Sir, whilst we held this happy course, we drew more from the colonies than all the impotent violence of despotism ever could 25 extort from them. We did this abundantly in the last war. It has never been once denied—and what reason have we to imagine that the colonies would not have proceeded in supplying government as liberally, if you had not stepped in and hindered them from contributing, by interrupting the channel in 30 which their liberality flowed with so strong a course; by attempting to take, instead of being satisfied to receive? Sir William Temple says, that Holland has loaded itself with ten times the impositions which it revolted from Spain, rather than submit

to. He says true. Tyranny is a poor provider. It knows neither how to accumulate, nor how to extract.

I charge therefore to this new and unfortunate system the loss not only of peace, of union, and of commerce, but even of revenue, which its friends are contending for.— It is morally 5 certain, that we have lost at least a million of free grants since the peace. I think we have lost a great deal more ; and that those who look for a revenue from the provinces, never could have pursued, even in that light, a course more directly repugnant to their purposes. 10

Now, Sir, I trust I have shown, first on that narrow ground which the honorable gentleman measured, that you are likely to lose nothing by complying with the motion, except what you have lost already. I have shown afterwards, that in time of peace you flourished in commerce, and, when war required it, 15 had sufficient aid from the colonies, while you pursued your ancient policy ; that you threw everything into confusion when you made the Stamp Act ; and that you restored everything to peace and order when you repealed it. I have shown that the revival of the system of taxation has produced the very worst 20 effects ; and that the partial repeal has produced, not partial good, but universal evil. Let these considerations, founded on facts, not one of which can be denied, bring us back to our reason by the road of our experience.

I cannot, as I have said, answer for mixed measures ; but 25 surely this mixture of lenity would give the whole a better chance of success. When you once regain confidence, the way will be clear before you. Then you may enforce the Act of Navigation when it ought to be enforced. You will yourselves open it where it ought still further to be opened. Pro- 30 ceed in what you do, whatever you do, from policy, and not from rancor. Let us act like men, let us act like statesmen. Let us hold some sort of consistent conduct. — It is agreed that

a revenue is not to be had in America. If we lose the profit, let us get rid of the odium.

On this business of America, I confess I am serious, even to sadness. I have had but one opinion concerning it since I sat, 5 and before I sat, in Parliament. The noble lord will, as usual, probably, attribute the part taken by me and my friends in this business, to a desire of getting his places. Let him enjoy this happy and original idea. If I deprived him of it, I should take away most of his wit, and all his argument. But I had rather 10 bear the brunt of all his wit; and indeed blows much heavier, than stand answerable to God for embracing a system that tends to the destruction of some of the very best and fairest of his works. But I know the map of England, as well as the noble lord, or as any other person; and I know that the way 15 I take is not the road to preferment. My excellent and honorable friend under me on the floor has trod that road with great toil for upwards of twenty years together. He is not yet arrived at the noble lord's destination. However, the tracks of my worthy friend are those I have ever wished to follow; because 20 I know they lead to honor. Long may we tread the same road together; whoever may accompany us, or whoever may laugh at us on our journey! I honestly and solemnly declare, I have in all seasons adhered to the system of 1766, for no other reason, than that I think it laid deep in your truest interests—and 25 that, by limiting the exercise, it fixes on the firmest foundations, a real, consistent, well-grounded authority in Parliament. Until you come back to that system, there will be no peace for England.

NOTES

3 4 obligingly furnished : "From 1640 to 1771 the House of Commons was engaged in constant struggles to prevent the publication of its debates. Those efforts ceased after 1771, but the task of a reporter was still very difficult. He was not allowed to take notes. No place was reserved to him, and he often found it hard to get admission into the space reserved for strangers. Besides, all strangers might at any time be excluded from the House at the desire of a single member. It was after the burning of the old Houses of Parliament in 1834 that special galleries were first provided for the press. Technically, the publication of debates is a breach of privilege even now; but, in fact, a printer is not censured except for wilful misrepresentation." (Selby.)

4 3 a drawback: "a total or partial refund of a duty, paid either upon imported goods or upon home productions subject to excise, when they were exported. The object, of course, was to encourage exportation. At the time at which Burke wrote commercial regulations were made, not so much with a view to the interests of trade as with a view to the accumulation of money for the maintenance of the country's military supremacy. The exporter, therefore, was encouraged, because to export is to sell to foreigners, that is, to bring money into the country." (Selby.)

4 12 a committee of the whole House: A committee of the whole House is, in fact, the House itself, presided over by a chairman instead of by the Speaker. Its ordinary function is deliberation, not inquiry. All matters concerning the imposition of taxes or the grant of public money must be considered in committee, as preliminary to legislation. The main difference between the proceedings of a committee and those of an ordinary session is, that in a committee a member may speak more than once, in order that the details of a question may have the most minute examination.

4 18 Sir: the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Fletcher Norton, from 1770 to 1780.

4 19 the honorable gentleman: It is out of order for a speaker to refer to a member by name. Burke is referring to Charles Wolfran

Cornwall, Esq., lately appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury. In 1780 he succeeded Sir Fletcher Norton as Speaker, and in 1784 he succeeded Mr. Rose Fuller as member for Rye.

4 20 this subject is not new: "The present debate had begun in the dullest possible style, and had reached its meridian. Rose Fuller, Rice, Captain Phipps, Stephen Fox, and Cornwall had already well tried the patience of the House. The members had begun to disperse to the adjoining apartments, or places of refreshment. Hence the short, lashing, petulant exordium. . . . It was necessary to arrest the attention of the House in the dullest part of a debate. The report of it spread rapidly, and members crowded back till the hall was filled to the utmost. It resounded throughout the speech with the loudest applause." (Payne.)

4 23 nine long years: The Stamp Act was passed by the House of Commons on February 27, 1765.

4 32 disgusting: wearisome or tedious.

5 2 the same side of the House: The ministers and their supporters occupied the benches on the right of the Speaker, the opposition those on the left. Owing to a quarrel with his brother-in-law, who was Secretary of War, Cornwall had joined Lord Shelburne's faction, but he had soon returned to the ministers.

5 8 his authority: as Lord of the Treasury.

5 9 the poor opinions: Burke was always humble in his speeches. See **9 20, 25 19, 30 8, 38 20, 38 28, 44 17, 52 20, 53 17, 56 5, 60 5, 62 3-19, 65 8, 67 11.**

6 29 take post on this concession: take their stand upon this concession as a ground for future demands.

6 32 duty on wine: Wine imported into the colonies was taxed £7 per cask of 250 gallons.

7 5 would to God: Appeals or references to God were more frequently used by Burke and his associates than by modern speakers. See **52 4, 58 31, 62 15, 68 11.**

7 10 former parliamentary revenue: the revenue derived from the Navigation Acts. See p. xix.

7 13 revived the scheme of taxation: by the act of 1767, often called the Townshend Act.

8 5 six branches of duties: glass, paper, red lead, white lead, painters' colors, tea.

8 9 the minister: Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. From 1770 to 1782 he was the leading minister, although he refused to be called Prime Minister. He was rather

the agent than the responsible adviser of the King, who practically directed the policy of the ministry, even on the minutest points. When war broke out with the colonies, Lord North wished to resign, but remained in office at the urgent solicitation of the King. In 1783 he united with Fox and Burke to form the Coalition ministry. In the *Letter to a Noble Lord*, Burke says: "He was a man of admirable parts, of general knowledge, of a versatile understanding, fitted for every sort of business, of infinite wit and pleasantry, of a delightful temper, and with a mind most perfectly disinterested. But it would be only to degrade myself by a weak adulation, and not to honor the memory of a great man, to deny that he wanted something of the vigilance and spirit of command that the time required."

8 11 to repeal the duties upon glass, etc.: These duties were repealed on April 12, 1770.

9 4 left unfinished: The entire paragraph is of course ironical.

9 17 the lie direct: See Touchstone's remark in *As You Like It*, V, iv.

9 22 ancient household troops: "the King's friends," or members of Commons directly controlled by the King. See p. xxiii.

10 17 the paper in my hand: Lord Hillsborough's circular letter to the colonies, announcing the partial repeal of the act of 1767. See p. xix. Lord Hillsborough (1718-1793) was President of the Board of Trade and Plantations from 1763 to 1766; Secretary of State for the colonies from 1768 to 1772; and Secretary of State for the Northern Department in 1779. His American policy was very much influenced by his correspondence with Governor Bernard. "His want of tact and judgment made him peculiarly unfitted for holding a delicate position in so critical a period."

11 5 an advantage in lead: At that time England exported great quantities of lead from the mines of Cornwall; at present Spain and the United States are large producers, and the advantage of England no longer exists.

11 9 a duty on coals: In 1765 the duty on coal exported was eight shillings per chaldron of 2250 pounds.

11 20 Tea is perhaps the most important object: Tea was the chief article of trade of the East India Company. The colonies consumed one third of the tea exported from India; each year they bought about three million pounds, valued at from £300,000 to £600,000.

11 27 Sir, it is not a pleasant consideration: "Mr. Burke here pauses for a moment in the progress of his argument, to give us one of those fine generalizations with which he so often strengthens and dignifies his

discussion of a particular point, by rising to some broader truth with which it is connected. The stinging force of his imagery in some parts, and the beauty of it in others, are worthy of attention." (Goodrich.)

12 17 the affairs of the East India Company: See p. xxvii.

12 23 The monopoly of the most lucrative trades: The whole commerce of the East with Great Britain was in the hands of the company.

12 27 an injudicious tax, etc.: Not only was the amount of the tax reduced, but the Americans refused to buy tea taxed under the Townshend Act. An absurd regulation also required the company to keep a year's supply of tea in their warehouses. This caused an increase in price and a decrease in value.

12 33 tea is next to a necessary of life: In 1827 Richard Rush, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, urged a reduction of the tax on tea, saying: "The use of tea has become so general throughout the United States as to rank almost as a necessary of life." The use of tea in England was almost universal. Burke's friend, Arthur Young, in his *Farmer's Tour through England* (1771), said that the grand source of the distresses of the poor was "the application of money to superfluities which ought to be, and formerly was expended in necessities." The poor took tea (with sugar) "twice a day and it was inconceivable how much it impoverished them; in very many parishes they attributed their exorbitant rates solely to this luxury. . . . If the men come to lose as much of their time at tea as the women, and injure their health by so bad a beverage, the poor in general will find themselves far more distressed than ever. . . . Labor has risen 25 per cent in eighteen years and rates 64 per cent in the same time, in order that the poor might drink tea twice, instead of once a day."

13 1 our dear-bought East India committees: committees appointed by the House of Commons to investigate the affairs of the East India Company. "Dear-bought" means that their wearisome meetings and laborious reports had very little effect. See also p. xxvii.

13 27 three-fourths of the duty . . . is taken off: "Indian tea was first imported into England and sold by public auction to English merchants, who reexported it to America. When brought into England it paid a duty of twelve pence in the pound, which was, of course, added to the price of the tea when it was sold. Three-fourths of this duty was now refunded to the English exporter, who could therefore sell his tea cheaper by nine pence a pound, and a tax of three pence a pound was imposed in America. The net result to the Americans was that they paid six pence a pound less for their tea." (Selby.)

14 6 heavy excises on those articles: Excises are taxes on home products, as opposed to customs on imports. The excise on paper varied from 25 per cent on the finest to 200 per cent on the coarsest. The excise on flint and plate glass was about thirty shillings a hundred-weight.

14 22 tea could bear an imposition: Tea was taxed 100 per cent in England. In 1827 tea imported into the United States paid the same tax. In 1900 a tax of ten cents a pound was imposed on the eighty-three million pounds imported.

14 27 Mr. Hampden: In 1635 John Hampden refused to pay the "ship-money" tax to Charles I, because there was no immediate need for an increase in the navy to repel an invading enemy.

16 14 a famous address for a revival: "agreed to in the Commons, February 8, 1769, requesting the King to revive the powers given for this purpose under an obsolete act of 35 Henry VIII." (Payne.)

18 5 a matter of supply: In 1297 Edward I was forced to declare that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the people. Since 1688 all taxes for public expenses have been imposed by Parliament. The only way by which the King can obtain money from taxes is by asking the Commons for a grant.

19 1 Lord Botetourt: Baron de Botetourt was appointed Governor of Virginia in 1768 and immediately went to the colony, although since 1684 no governor had condescended to reside there. On his arrival it was his purpose to reduce the Virginians to submission either by persuasion or by force; but when he became better acquainted with the people he changed his views and entreated the ministry to repeal the offensive acts. This they promised, but they constantly postponed action. When Botetourt realized that they had no intention of fulfilling their promise, he at once demanded his own recall. His disappointment resulted in his death shortly afterwards of a bilious fever. A statue of him was erected at William and Mary's College, Virginia.

19 23 rather part with his crown, than preserve it by deceit: "A material point is omitted by Mr. Burke in this speech, viz., *the manner in which the Continent received this royal assurance*. The assembly of Virginia, in their address in answer to Lord Botetourt's speech, express themselves thus: 'We will not suffer our present hopes, arising from the pleasing prospect your Lordship hath so kindly opened and displayed to us, to be dashed by the bitter reflection that any *future* administration will entertain a wish to depart from that *plan*, which affords the surest and most permanent foundation of public tranquillity and

happiness. No, my Lord, we are sure *our most gracious sovereign*, under whatever changes may happen in his confidential servants, will remain immutable in the ways of truth and justice, and that he is *incapable of deceiving his faithful subjects*; and we esteem your Lordship's information not only as warranted, but even sanctified *by the royal word.*" (Note to Dodsley's second edition.)

19 31 the noble lord upon the floor: Lord North.

19 33 the exception of two only: Lord Hillsborough had been succeeded by the Earl of Dartmouth, and Viscount Weymouth by the Earl of Rochford.

20 22 that session of idle terror: from November 8, 1768, to May 9, 1769. "Discontents arose in England to a greater height than in any preceding period of the reign. Although the conduct of administration respecting America had its share in exciting dissatisfaction, yet the chief cause was the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes." (Bisset, I, 251.)

21 6 this letter of attorney: "A letter or power of attorney gives to one man legal power to act as the representative of another. Burke means that Lord Hillsborough's letter authorizes him to say what the opinions of the ministry are." (Selby.)

21 21 atlas-ordinary, etc.: papers of different qualities and sizes. "Burke emphasizes the triviality of the object by describing it by names which are unknown to any but experts in a particular trade." (Selby.)

22 16 disorderly to refer to it: References to previous debates are out of order in the House of Commons.

22 24 his particular office: Lord North was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

24 27 the end of every visto: The more correct spelling is *vista*.

24 27 Your commerce . . . to this repeal: "If any man has been accustomed to regard Mr. Burke as more of a rhetorician than a reasoner, let him turn back and study over the series of arguments contained in this first head [pp. 3-24]. There is nothing in any of the speeches of Mr. Fox or Mr. Pitt which surpasses it for close reasoning on the facts of the case, or the binding force with which, at every step, the conclusion is linked to the premises. It is unnecessary to speak of the pungency of its application, or the power with which he brings to bear upon Lord North the whole course of his measures respecting the colonies, as an argument for repealing this 'solitary duty on tea.'" (Goodrich.)

25 3 a turnpike: in the old sense of a barrier. "Any gate by which the way is obstructed." (Johnson.)

25 22 the Act of Navigation: "passed by Cromwell in 1651, with the design of taking the carrying trade out of the hands of the Dutch. It prohibited amongst other things the importation into England and her colonies, by foreign vessels, of any commodities which were not the growth and manufacture of the countries to which these vessels belonged." (Payne.)

26 2 twenty-nine acts of Parliament: chiefly additions to the Act of Navigation. In 1660 an act was passed requiring that all articles of colonial trade enumerated in official lists, which omitted none of any value to England, should be sold only in England, and shipped in vessels built in England, Ireland, or the colonies, and that the master and at least three-fourths of the crews of these vessels should be Englishmen. In 1732 the Sugar Act imposed a high duty on sugars imported into the colonies. In 1764 duties were imposed on sugar, indigo, coffee, wines, silks, and cloths.

26 8 a parliamentary revenue: a revenue from taxes imposed by Parliament and paid into the treasury, to be used as Parliament might direct for the general expenses of government.

26 21 acts of King Charles the Second: "This act, which was amended in the reign of Wm. III, imposed a tax upon English ships which carried from colony to colony the 'enumerated articles' which, strictly speaking, ought to have been sold in England only. . . . England's object, of course, was to make profit out of those evasions of the Navigation Act which she could not altogether prevent." (Selby.)

26 25 the 6th of George the Second: the Sugar Act of 1732.

26 30 a compromise of all: New England, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey were opposed to it, because they would be compelled to pay more for their sugar, and would lose the export trade to the French, Danish, and Dutch sugar-producing colonies.

27 2 Governor Bernard: Sir Francis Bernard was appointed Governor of the colony of New Jersey in 1758, whence, after two years' successful rule, he was transferred to Massachusetts Bay. For some time he enjoyed the good-will of the colonists; but his misrepresentations of their designs led the ministry to enforce the Act of Navigation, and later the demand for revenue. He announced the repeal of the Stamp Act in a speech fitted completely to counteract the loyal sentiments awakened by the concession. He dissolved the colonial assembly for sending out a circular letter inviting coöperation among the colonies against the new duties on imports; and at his request troops were sent to Boston. In 1769 he was recalled to England and made a baronet.

In 1774 he published fourteen letters, which he had written between 1763 and 1768 to various statesmen in England, setting forth his views on the relation of the colonies to England. The reference is to Letter II: "This act has been a perpetual stumbling-block to the custom-house officers; and it will be most agreeable to them to have it in any ways removed. The question seems to be, whether it should be an act of prohibition, or an act of revenue. It was originally, I believe, designed for the former; and if it should be thought advisable to continue it as such, it will want no more than to be fully executed. But if it is meant to be an act of revenue, the best means to make it most effectual, that is, to raise the greatest revenue by it, will be to lower the duties in such a proportion as will secure the entire collection of them, and encourage the importation of the goods on which they will be laid."

27 28 attended the colonies from their infancy: "This is not strictly correct. On the contrary, the charters granted to the founders of the settlement in Virginia *distinctly empower the colonists to carry on a direct intercourse with foreign states*. Nor were they slow to avail themselves of this permission; for they had, as early as 1620, established tobacco warehouses in Middelburg and Flushing. The Navigation Acts of Cromwell and of Charles II founded the monopoly system." (Payne.)

27 29 grew with their growth, and strengthened with their strength: Pope, *Essay on Man*, ii, 136.

28 1 Their monopolist: a figurative expression for Great Britain.

28 14 not so much sent as thrown out: Religious persecution in England led the Puritans to establish Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut; the Catholics, Maryland; and the Quakers, Pennsylvania.

28 29 sole disposal of her own internal government: "The colony assemblies had not only the legislative, but a part of the executive power. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, they elected the governor. In the other colonies, they appointed the revenue officers who collected the taxes imposed by those respective assemblies, to whom those officers were immediately responsible. There is more equality, therefore, among the English colonists, than among the inhabitants of the mother-country. — *Wealth of Nations*, IV, 7." (Payne.)

29 3 the Act of Navigation neither is, or ever was, obeyed: Contrary to the act, the colonists traded directly with the Spanish colonies, sending out British manufactures and receiving gold bullion. Smuggling was also very prevalent. A governor of Massachusetts said: "There is little left for the merchants residing in England to import

into any of the plantations, those of New England being able to afford their goods much cheaper than such who pay the customs and are laden in England." About nine tenths of the tea consumed in New England was smuggled. The collectors of customs were easily bribed to connive at smugglers, and the colonists did not consider it a breach of morality to evade the law. In June, 1768, John Hancock's sloop *Liberty* was seized, because the master had made a false entry of the cargo.

29 14 immense duties on French brandy: ten shillings a gallon.

29 16 Pentland Frith to the Isle of Wight: Pentland Frith is an arm of the sea that bounds Scotland on the north, and the Isle of Wight is a small island south of England in the English Channel.

30 10 At that period the necessity was established: At the close of the French and Indian War, after the colonies had been freed from foreign danger by the acquisition of Canada, the "King's friends" determined to abolish the charters of the colonies and to make them all royal governments. This arbitrary policy required a standing army maintained by the colonists, supposedly to protect the frontier, but in reality to oppress them. In 1763 a proposal was made by the Secretary of War to send twenty regiments of ten thousand men to America, to be paid by England for the first year, and afterwards by the colonists. The colonels, appointed by the King, would assist in carrying out his wishes in the House of Commons.

30 20 the great resisters of a standing armed force: "The cry against standing armies and corrupt expenditure was a watchword of the country party in the early part of the century," because on them as land-owners fell the burden of increased taxation.

30 25 Mr. Townshend: Charles Townshend (1725-1767) was a very popular statesman. He entered Parliament in 1747; he was appointed Lord of the Admiralty in 1754, member of Privy Council in 1757, Secretary of War in 1761, President of Board of Trade in 1763, Paymaster General in 1765, and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1766. For his character, see note on **55 14**.

30 30 upon a person: George Grenville (1712-1770) entered Parliament in 1741, and rose rapidly until he became Secretary of State in 1762. One year later he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he was dismissed in 1765 for not carrying out the King's wishes. He was unsuccessful in his attempt to prevent the Rockingham ministry from repealing the Stamp Act. "Mr. Grenville, though not a man of first-rate abilities, was a distinguished financier. His whole policy was directed

to making the most of the revenue, and especially to do this by repressing smuggling both in England and the colonies. He was also a rigid economist, and made good bargains for the public with capitalists. . . . In 1764, after the termination of a costly war of seven years, he was able to bring forward a budget which proposed no additional taxes." (Payne.)

31 2 in lights that were rather too detached: Many of Burke's illustrations are taken from the art of painting. He was an intimate friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds and the patron of James Barry. See p. xiii and 31 32, 41 7, 55 26, 60 2.

31 3 an American revenue was imposed upon him: George III forced Grenville to adopt the plan of deriving revenue from the colonies.

31 33 He was bred to the law: "This admirable sketch has one peculiarity which is highly characteristic of Mr. Burke. It does not so much describe the objective qualities of the man, as the formative principles of his character. The traits mentioned were *causes* of his being what he was, and doing what he did. They account (and for this reason they are brought forward) for the course he took in respect to America. The same, also, is true respecting the sketch of Charles Townshend which follows, and, to some extent, respecting the sketch of Lord Chatham. This is one of the thousand exhibitions of the philosophical tendencies of Mr. Burke's mind, his absorption in the idea of cause and effect, of the action and reaction of principles and feelings." (Goodrich.)

33 4 After the war, and in the last years of it: "The enforcement of the Navigation Act had preceded the Stamp Act. The important trade in British manufactures which the English colonists carried on with those of France and Spain, was certainly against the letter of the Navigation Act, though not, perhaps, against its spirit. This trade was afterwards allowed, though under duties that were virtually prohibitory." (Payne.)

33 25 my Lord Bute: The Earl of Bute (1713-1792), a Scotchman, practically controlled the government from 1760 to 1763, when his unpopularity forced the King to accept his resignation, and to appoint Grenville as Prime Minister, whom Bute hoped to control. During his period of power Bute had succeeded in securing peace with France and in breaking up the Whig oligarchy. To him Dr. Samuel Johnson owed his pension of £300 a year.

33 31 America was on the point of having no trade: In 1764, when the Navigation Act was rigidly enforced, Governor Bernard wrote: "The merchants say, There is an end of the trade of this province;

that it is sacrificed to the West Indian planters; that it is time for every prudent man to get out of debt with Great Britain as fast as he can, and betake himself to husbandry, and be content with such coarse manufactures as this country will produce." (Letter III.)

34 4 appointment of courts of admiralty: The men accused of disobeying the Act of Navigation were tried by courts of admiralty and thus deprived of trial by jury. "This injudicious proceeding touched the sensibilities of the colonists perhaps more keenly than anything else." (Payne.)

34 6 sudden extinction of the paper currencies: "The colonial assemblies during the war had issued notes, which were made a legal tender. To remedy the inconvenience produced by their natural depreciation, Mr. Grenville passed an act which took away from them the nature of a legal tender. Most of the bullion of the colonies being employed in the trade to England, the extinction of the paper currencies must have caused a general stoppage in trade." (Payne.)

34 10 their recent services in the war: "The colonies had entered warmly into the war against France; and such was their zeal, that of their own accord they advanced for carrying it on, much larger sums than were allotted as their quota by the British government." (Goodrich.) In the war the colonies lost 30,000 men and incurred a public debt of \$16,000,000.

34 16 the 15th act of the fourth of George III: the act of 1763, imposing duties on sugars, wines, cloths, etc.

35 5 a beginning of sorrows: Matthew xxiv. 8. Burke very often quotes from the Bible. See 17 32, 19 30, 44 3, 45 7, 45 10, 49 5, 54 21, 57 25, 62 10, 62 29, 63 9, 64 11.

35 17 Great was the applause of this measure: On September 24, 1775, the Marquis of Rockingham wrote to Burke: "The violent measures towards America are fairly adopted and countenanced by a majority of individuals of all ranks, professions, or occupations, in this country."

35 24 did not object to the principle: "It is far from being true that 'the Americans did not object to the principle' of the act of 1764; nor is Mr. Burke correct in saying that they 'touched it very tenderly.' The first act of the British Parliament for the avowed purpose of raising a revenue in America was passed April 5th, 1764. Within a month after the news reached Boston, the General Court of Massachusetts met, and on the 13th of June, 1764, addressed a letter to Mr. Mauduit, their agent in England, giving him spirited and decisive instructions on the subject. It seems he had misconstrued their silence respecting

another law, and had not, therefore, come forward in their behalf against the act. They say, 'No agent of the province has power to make concessions in any case without express orders; and that the silence of the province should have been imputed to any cause, even to despair, rather than to have been construed into a tacit cession of their rights, or an acknowledgment of a right in Parliament *to impose duties and taxes upon a people who are not represented in the House of Commons.*' A committee was also chosen with power to sit in the recess of the General Court, and directed to correspond with the other provinces on the subject, acquainting them with the instructions sent to Mr. Mauduit, and requesting the concurrence of the other provincial assemblies in resisting 'any impositions and taxes upon this and the other American provinces.' Accordingly, in November of the same year, the House of Burgesses in Virginia sent an address to the House of Lords and a remonstrance to the House of Commons on the same subject. Remonstrances were likewise sent from Massachusetts and New York to the Privy Council. James Otis also published during this year his pamphlet against the right of Parliament to tax the colonies while unrepresented in the House of Commons. This was printed in London in 1765, about the time when the Stamp Act was passed — See *Holmes's American Annals*, 2d ed., Vol. ii, pp. 125-126." (Goodrich.)

35 25 It was not a direct attack: "Their opposition was not that direct calling in question of the power of Parliament to impose taxes which was forced from them by the Stamp Act." (Payne.)

35 28 like those they had been accustomed to bear: "the duties on rum, sugar, and molasses, imported from the West Indies; and on tobacco and indigo exported from the American continent to any of the other plantations." (Payne.)

36 16 the colony agents could have no general powers: The colony agents were bound to act on instructions received from their colonial assemblies. Their duties were to get concessions in trade regulations and boundary disputes, to checkmate all projects for laws or ordinances that would unfavorably affect their plantations, to represent their colonies at court, before the Privy Council, and before Parliament, to appear for them in trials with full legal power of attorney, and to act as fiscal agents for transmission of public moneys.

Referring to this paragraph, Israel Mauduit, agent for Massachusetts, said that in the spring of 1764, at the end of the session of Parliament, the colony agents held a conference with Mr. Grenville, in which Mr. Grenville asserted his determination to make the colonies pay a portion

of the £70,000 debt incurred by the French and Indian war in America, and that he judged this method of raising the money the easiest and most equitable. But Mr. Grenville continued: "I am not, however, set upon this tax. If the Americans dislike it, and prefer any other method of raising the money themselves, I shall be content. Write therefore to your several colonies; and if they choose any other mode, I shall be satisfied, provided the money is raised." This offer was acknowledged by the Massachusetts assembly in a letter to Mauduit, dated Boston, June 14, 1764, as follows: "The actual laying the stamp duty, you say, is deferred till next year, Mr. Grenville being willing to give the provinces their option to raise that, or some equivalent tax; desirous, as he was pleased to express himself, to consult the ease and quiet, and the good-will of the colonies. . . . The kind offer of suspending the stamp duty in the manner, and upon the condition, you mention, amounts to no more than this, that if the colonies will not tax themselves, as they may be directed, the Parliament will tax them." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections. First Series, Vol. IX, p. 268.)

38 18 as well as my eyes could discern it: Burke was near-sighted. All caricatures of him exaggerate his large glasses.

38 27 a situation of little rank: Burke became private secretary to Lord Rockingham in July, 1765. See p. xii.

39 7 the Spanish trade: See note on 29 3.

39 20 the late Mr. Yorke: Charles Yorke (1722-1770) entered Parliament in 1747; four years later he was appointed counsel for the East India Company. In 1756 he became Solicitor General, and in 1762, as Attorney General, he opposed general warrants and favored a liberal interpretation of the Navigation Act to permit the bullion trade of the American and Spanish colonies. His ambition was to become Lord Chancellor, but when the office was offered to him by the Grafton ministry, he declined it, and promised the Rockingham Whigs, with whom he had been associated, that he would not accept it. Nevertheless, after several interviews with the King, he weakly broke his promise and was appointed Lord Chancellor. This conflict between honor and ambition led to a nervous illness, and three days after his appointment he died.

41 5 the King's speech: On January 14, 1766, the King said to the House of Commons: "No time has been lost, on the first advice of these disturbances, to issue orders to the governors of my provinces, and to the commanders of my forces in America, for the exertion of all the powers of government in the suppression of riots and tumults,

and in the effectual support of lawful authority. . . . Whatever remains to be done on this occasion I commit to your wisdom; not doubting but your zeal for the honor of my crown, your attention to the just rights and authority of the British legislature, and your affection and concern for the welfare and prosperity of all my people, will guide you to such sound and prudent resolutions, as may tend at once to preserve those constitutional rights over the colonies, and to restore to them that harmony and tranquillity, which have lately been interrupted by riots and disorders of the most dangerous nature. . . . If any alterations should be wanting in the commercial economy of the plantations, which may tend to enlarge and secure the mutual and beneficial intercourse of my kingdoms and colonies, they will deserve your most serious consideration. In effectuating purposes so worthy of your wisdom and public spirit, you may depend upon my most hearty concurrence and support."

41 13 The Parliament sat to fill the vacancies: Whenever vacancies occur in the House of Commons through the death of members, their elevation to the peerage, their acceptance of office under the crown, their bankruptcy or lunacy, the Speaker is ordered by the House to authorize new elections.

41 22 the Gordian knot: "In Greek legend, a knot tied by Gordius in the cord that connected the pole and the yoke of the ox-cart in which he was riding when he or his son Midas was chosen king of Phrygia. It was so intricate as to defy all attempts to untie it; and the oracle of the temple in which the cart was preserved declared that whoever should succeed in undoing it would become master of Asia. Alexander of Macedon solved the difficulty by cutting the knot with his sword, and the oracle was fulfilled. Hence the phrase is applied to any inextricable difficulty; and to *cut the Gordian knot*, or *the knot* is to overcome a difficulty in a bold, trenchant, or violent way." (*Century Dictionary*.)

41 29 It opened the eyes of several: "Burke himself probably knew more about America than any one in England. He had read every accessible authority on the subject at the commencement of the Seven Years' War, when the attention of the public was strongly drawn to it, for his *Account of the European Settlements in America* (1757), which has been recognized from the first as a standard authority." (Payne.)

41 33 my honorable friend under me: William Dowdeswell (1721-1775) was Chancellor of the Exchequer under Rockingham; like Burke, he refused to remain in office under Pitt. He forced his successor, Charles

Townshend, to reduce the land tax from four to three shillings. Burke wrote the following epitaph on Dowdeswell, which he said was so true "that every word of it may be deposed upon oath": "To the memory of William Dowdeswell, representative in Parliament for the county of Worcester, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the years 1765 and '66, and a member of the King's Privy Council: a senator for twenty years, a minister for one, a virtuous citizen for his whole life. A man of unshaken constancy, inflexible integrity, unremitted industry. His mind was generous, open, sincere. His manners plain, simple, and noble; rejecting all sorts of duplicity and disguise, as useless to his designs and odious to his nature. His understanding was comprehensive, steady, vigorous, made for the practical business of the state. In debate he was clear, natural, and convincing. His knowledge, in all things which concerned his duty, profound. He understood beyond any man of his time the revenues of his country, which he preferred to everything except its liberties. He was perfect master of the law of Parliament, and attached to its privileges until they were set up against the rights of the people. All the proceedings which have weakened government, endangered freedom, and distracted the British empire, were by him strenuously opposed. And his last efforts under which his health sunk were to preserve his country from a civil war; which being unable to prevent, he had not the misfortune to see. He was not more respectable on the public scene than amiable in private life. Immersed in the greatest affairs, he never lost the ancient, native, genuine English character of a country gentleman, disdaining and neglecting no office in life. He was a useful municipal magistrate; with great care and clear judgment administering justice, maintaining the police, relieving the distresses, and regulating the manners of the people in his neighborhood. A husband and father, the kindest, gentlest, most indulgent. He was everything to his family except what he gave up to his country."

42 1 a right honorable gentleman: General Conway (1721-1795) entered Parliament in 1741. As Secretary of State under Rockingham he moved the repeal of the Stamp Act. He continued in office under Chatham in order to keep the leadership of the House; he was supposed to be the connecting link between the Rockingham Whigs and Chatham.

42 5 the inquiry lasted in the committee: See note 4 12.

42 9 old mercenary Swiss of state: The Swiss mercenaries were highly valued throughout western Europe. The allusion is to the "King's friends."

42 27 that glaring and dazzling influence: The King and his court. Burke is referring also to the famous "eagle eye" of Lord Chatham.

43 1 Lord Chatham: William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham (1708-1778) was Paymaster General from 1746 to 1755. Greatly to his honor, and unlike his predecessors, he declined to accept a farthing beyond the salary from his new office. He refused either to appropriate to himself the interest of the huge balances in his hands, or to accept the commission of one half per cent. which foreign powers had been accustomed to pay on receipt of their subsidies. By this disinterested conduct he secured a large share of public confidence. From 1756 to 1761 he was Secretary of State, with supreme direction of the French war and of foreign affairs. "His conduct of the war led to the culminating point of English power in the eighteenth century, and made England as much an object of jealousy and dread to all Europe as Spain and France had been formerly. . . . His power over the House of Commons was complete. Divisions on party questions were unknown, and supplies were voted without discussion. . . . In him the people for the first time felt their power. He was essentially their representative, and he gloried in it." Burke was a pallbearer at his funeral.

43 7 the honorable gentleman under the gallery: General Conway.

43 8 the American committee: the committee of the whole House to consider the American affairs.

43 15 of a complexion: constantly used by Burke in this sense of temperament or disposition. The same use appears in Chaucer and Shakespeare.

43 21 Lord Egmont: The Earl of Egmont (1711-1770) was appointed Paymaster General in 1762, and First Lord of the Admiralty in 1763. It is strange that Burke should have made this complimentary reference to Egmont, because Egmont was said to have been one of the agents in the secret negotiations that led to the destruction of the Rockingham ministry. Perhaps Burke was pleased by Egmont's resignation in 1766 from the unstable ministry of Chatham. Egmont is also said to have anticipated Burke's general reasoning on politics.

43 27 The household troops: the "King's friends." See p. xxiii.

44 3 Earth below shook: Psalms lxviii. 8.

44 13 the honorable gentleman who led us: General Conway.

44 27 the honorable gentleman who made the motion: General Conway.

45 7 Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest: See *Paradise Lost*, IX, 633.

45 10 the face of an angel: Acts vi. 15.

45 12 all that kings in their profusion could bestow : "General Conway must have felt this passage keenly, and he deserved it. He was now connected with Lord North, and had gratified the King by going the whole length of the most violent measures against Wilkes. About three weeks before, he had said respecting the Boston Port Bill, that he 'was particularly happy in the mode of punishment adopted in it.' He was then enjoying his reward in the emoluments pertaining to the office of Governor of Jersey, to which he had been promoted after holding for some years that of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance. In justice to Conway, it ought, however, to be said, that notwithstanding his hasty remark in favor of the Boston Port Bill, he was always opposed to American taxation. He differed from Lord North at every step as to carrying on the war, and made the motion for ending it, February 27th, 1782, which drove Lord North from power." (Goodrich.)

49 4 a Dr. Tucker: Josiah Tucker (1712-1799) became Dean of Gloucester in 1758. He published a number of valuable economic pamphlets and was said to be "the only man of that day who anticipated the judgment and experience of our own on the question of the American colonies." He maintained in various energetic pamphlets that a separation from the colonies was desirable; that the supposed advantage of a colonial trade to the mother country was a delusion; and that the colonies turned adrift would fall out with each other, and be glad to return to political union. In *Tracts on Political and Commercial Subjects* (1774), p. 180, he said: "When the duty on stamps was first proposed, the Americans made as little objection to it, as could be supposed to be made to any new tax whatever. . . . But when the *Outs* and *Pouters* on this side the water, saw the advantage which the minister gave them by a whole year's delay, they eagerly seized the opportunity; emissaries and agents were dispatched into all quarters;—the newspapers were filled with invectives against the new-intended tax. It was injudicious!—it was ill-timed!—oppressive!—tyrannical!—and everything that was bad! Letters upon letters were wrote to America to excite the people to associate, to remonstrate, and even to revolt. . . . Having been taught by these preceptors to feel their own weight and independence, they (the Americans) were not to be wheedled by soothing and cajoling letters to give over their enterprise, or to become a tractable, obedient people for the future." One year earlier he had written to a member of the ministry: "As to any views of preferment, though I humbly thank your Lordship for your kind intentions, I have none at all; being quite contented with my station. . . . I have

dedicated my time and talents to the service of my country, yet, as is well known, without neglecting the proper duties of my profession, and that too without fee or reward."

49 5 his earnest labors in this vineyard: Matthew xx. 1-16.

50 9 the Earl of Halifax: The Earl of Halifax (1716-1771) was President of the Board of Trade from 1748 to 1761, and under his direction the commerce of America was so much extended that he was sometimes styled "the Father of the colonies." He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1761 to 1763, First Lord of Admiralty in 1762, and as Secretary of State from 1762 to 1765 ordered the arrest of Wilkes. His nephew, Lord North, made him Lord Privy Seal in 1770 and Secretary of State in 1771. Through this minister Burke had obtained the Irish pension of £300 in the days of his attachment to Hamilton, and for this reason he probably refrained from criticising him.

50 14 Governor Fauquier: Lieutenant Governor of Virginia from 1758 to 1768. He dissolved the Virginian House of Burgesses in 1765 for passing Patrick Henry's resolutions.

50 24 several strong public resolves: the resolutions of Patrick Henry, in which all the rights of British-born subjects were claimed for the Virginians. They denied the existence of any authority anywhere, except in the provincial assembly, to impose taxes, and denounced the attempt to vest that authority elsewhere, as inconsistent with the ancient constitution, and subversive of liberty in Great Britain as well as in America.

51 27 no small acrimony: In 1769 the General Assembly had petitioned the King to recall Bernard for illegal interference in their rights and privileges.

52 13 They obeyed the requisition: They would have welcomed a recommendation for such compensation, but declined to grant it when ordered. Upon the second demand the compensation was granted, but with a provision for complete indemnity and oblivion respecting the authors of the riot. This condition gave great offense to the British administration.

52 20 demonstrated their gratitude: South Carolina voted a statue to Pitt and Virginia one to the King.

53 7 Clarum et venerabile: "A name illustrious and revered by nations, and rich in blessings for our country's good." (Lucan's *Pharsalia*, IX, v, 202.) Cato is speaking of Pompey.

54 9 pigging together: lying huddled together, like pigs. "One of the vulgarisms which too often disfigure Burke's pages."

54 9 heads and points, in the same truckle-bed: This is supposed to allude to Lord North and George Cooke, who were made joint Paymasters. "As a handful of pins shaken together will be found to have heads and points confused, so two persons get more space in a narrow bed by lying opposite ways. The truckle-bed was a bed that runs on wheels under a higher bed." (Payne.)

54 21 When his face was hid but for a moment: Isaiah liv. 8. Pitt's face was hid for three years.

55 14 I speak of Charles Townshend: Horace Walpole has more justly said: "He (Townshend) had almost every great talent, and every little quality. His vanity exceeded even his abilities, and his suspicions seemed to make him doubt whether he had any. With such a capacity he must have been the greatest man of this age, and perhaps inferior to no man in any age, had his faults been only in a moderate proportion—in short, if he had had but common truth, common sincerity, common honesty, common modesty, common steadiness, common courage, and common sense." (*Memoirs of George III*, III, 72.)

55 17 the delight and ornament of this House: "It was Garrick writing and acting extempore scenes of Congreve." (Walpole.)

55 31 between wind and water: that part of a ship's side or bottom which is frequently brought above the water by the rolling of the vessel or by fluctuation of the water's surface. A hole made by shot in such a spot is very dangerous.

57 16 an advocate for the Stamp Act: Townshend spoke in support of the bill and referred to the pretended gratitude of the Americans, whom he styled "children planted by our care, and nourished by our indulgence." Colonel Barre retorted: "They planted by your care! No! your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated, inhospitable wilderness, exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable. They nourished by your indulgence! . . . No; they grew by your neglect of them."

57 25 as the fashion of this world passeth away: 1 Corinthians vii. 31.

57 30 Instantly he was tied down: "During the winter of 1766–1767, Mr. Townshend was continually goaded by Mr. Grenville on the subject of American taxation. 'You are cowards! You are afraid of the Americans. You dare not tax America!' The rash spirit of Townshend was roused by these attacks. 'Fear?' said he. 'Cowards? Dare not tax America? *I dare tax America!*' Grenville stood silent for a moment, and then said, 'Dare you tax America? I wish to God you

would do it.' Townshend replied, 'I will, I will.' This hasty declaration could not be evaded or withdrawn." (Goodrich.)

60 4 on a former occasion I tried your temper : in moving his eight resolutions relating to the disorders in North America. See p. xix.

60 12 A Secretary of State has disclaimed : See 17 13-30.

62 5 the penal bills : See p. xx.

62 10 a destroying angel : 1 Chronicles xxi. 12.

62 29 Seek peace and ensue it : Psalms xxxiv. 14.

63 9 not used to do so from the beginning : Matthew xix. 8.

64 1 A noble lord : Lord Carmarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds (1751-1799), entered Parliament in March, 1774. Although he usually voted with the ministry, he was in favor of receiving the petition of Massachusetts. After holding various court offices, he began in 1780 vigorously to oppose Lord North. In 1783 he was appointed ambassador to Paris and later Secretary of State under Pitt. He endeavored to form an alliance with Russia and Austria against France. "He was an amiable nobleman of moderate abilities and capricious disposition, but his vanity was excessive and his political conduct unstable."

64 11 when children ask for bread : Matthew vii. 9.

66 9 the case of Pennsylvania : In 1758 a grant of £100,000 was delayed because the assembly asserted that it must be raised by taxing the lands both of private citizens and of the proprietors. The proprietors claimed that their property was exempt from local taxation.

66 31 Sir William Temple : Sir William Temple (1628-1699) was ambassador to the United Provinces in the reign of Charles II. His *Letters*, *Memoirs*, and *Essays* were valued highly by Burke's contemporaries as a model for literary style. Jonathan Swift later became his private secretary.

67 21 not partial good, but universal evil : See Pope, *Essay on Man*, l. 293.

68 5 The noble lord : Lord North.

68 15 My excellent and honorable friend : Mr. Dowdeswell.

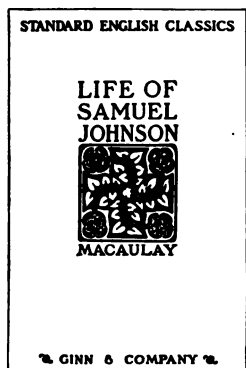
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